

JPRS-EPS-84-140

13 November 1984

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

FBIS

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

13 November 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

CONTENTS

BULGARIA

Briefs

Zhivkov Receives Portuguese Ambassador	1
Zhivkov Receives Libyan Representative	1
Brazilian Ambassador Departs	2
Stoyanov Attends Commemoration	2
Khristov Attends Varna Meeting	2
New Foreign Press Centre	2
Tanchev, Syrian Agro-Union Official	2
Aleksandrov Meets Meteorology Official	3

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Today's Sudetenland Described (Irena Brezna; NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG, 11 Oct 84).....	4
RUDE PRAVO Criticizes Shining Path Actions in Peru (Oldrich Pospisil; RUDE PRAVO, 23 Oct 84).....	6
Briefs	
Social Changes Reached	8

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Commentary on New Secondary School Curricula (H. R. Karutz; DIE WELT, 28 Aug 84).....	9
Ideological Training of Pre-Schoolers To Increase (H. R. Karutz; DIE WELT, 17 Sep 84).....	11
Recent Developments in People's Navy Reported (Siegfried Breyer; WEHRTECHNIK, Oct 84).....	13

HUNGARY

Bicameral National Legislature Proposed (Jozef Bognar Interview; MAGYAR NEMZET, 19 Aug 84).....	22
Reconciling Burdens of Early Communist To Present (Istvan Kiraly; ELET ES IRODALOM, 21 Sep 84).....	24
OSSERVATORE ROMANO Quoted on 1964 Church-State Agreement (UJ EMBER, 30 Sep 84).....	31
Briefs	
New Church To Be Built	32

POLAND

Program for Trade Union Movement Discussed (Alfred Miodowicz Interview; RZECZPOSPOLITA, 18 Sep 84)....	33
Readiness To Cooperate With ILO Stressed (RZECZPOSPOLITA, 22 Oct 84).....	37
Government's Opposition Distinguished (Artur Bodnar; ZYCIE WARSZAWY, 22-23 Sep 84).....	40
Social Attitudes of Students Assessed (Zbigniew Necki Interview; ZYCIE WARSZAWY, No 233, 29-30 Sep 84).....	43

ROMANIA

Need To Improve Philosophy Textbooks Stressed (Achim Mihiu; ERA SOCIALISTA, No 17, 19 Sep 84).....	48
---	----

YUGOSLAVIA

LCY Commission Discusses International Communication (TANJUG Domestic Service, 24 Oct 84).....	56
Resolution Drafted on Improving Role of Communes (BORBA, 2 Oct 84).....	58
Briefs	
Border Crossing to Bulgaria	59
Markovic Receives Japanese CP Official	59
Message to Nicaragua's Ortega	59
Kosovo Presidency on Albania	59

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES PORTUGUESE AMBASSADOR--Sofia, 19 Oct (BTA)--Bulgaro-Portuguese relations can be broadened in the presence of good will on the part of both countries, Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council said today receiving the credentials of Mr Duarte Vas Pinto, [spelling as received] newly appointed ambassador of Portugal to Bulgaria. Mr Todor Zhivkov stressed that Bulgaria is ready to build its relations with Portugal on a wider basis in the interest of the two peoples and in the interest of the consolidation of peace, security and cooperation in Europe and in the world. He said that Bulgaria's wish is that through consolidating bilateral cooperation, Bulgaria and Portugal contribute to the improvement of the political climate in Europe and the world. In his turn Mr Duarte Vas Pinto said that his government is using all possibilities for promoting Bulgaro-Portuguese relations. He also noted that the two countries must do all that is in their power to contribute to creating a juster, cloudless and more secure world. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1854 GMT 19 Oct 84]

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES LIBYAN REPRESENTATIVE--Sofia, 19 Oct (BTA)--Today Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council received Mr Omar Mufftah Al-Dallyal [spelling as received], newly appointed secretary of the People's Bureau of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to Bulgaria. The Bulgarian leader defined Bulgaro-Libyan relations as a model of friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation. The two countries and the two peoples, Mr Todor Zhivkov said are united by the common struggle against imperialism, Zionism, colonialism, neocolonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination, against the policy of the imperialist forces headed by the U.S. which leads to the dangerous aggravation of the international situation and is a serious threat to world peace and the security of the peoples all over the world. Mr Omar Mufftah Al-Dallyal pointed out that the Treaty for Friendship and Cooperation signed between the two countries in 1983 opens up great possibilities for promoting and consolidating the ties and cooperation in all spheres. He stressed that the Arab people of Libya highly appraise the role of the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community including Bulgaria in the struggle for consolidating world peace, for disarmament and for stopping the arms race and for international cooperation. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1859 GMT 19 Oct 84]

BRAZILIAN AMBASSADOR DEPARTS--Yaroslav Radev, deputy chairman of the State Council, yesterday presented the Madara Horsemen, First Degree, Order to Carlos Alberto Pereira Pinto, Brazilian ambassador to Bulgaria, for his contribution to expanding and further developing the political, economic, and cultural ties between Brazil and Bulgaria, and on the occasion of his final departure from the country. Maria Zakharieva, deputy minister of foreign affairs, also attended the ceremony. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Oct 84 p 2]

STOYANOV ATTENDS COMMEMORATION--A meeting marking the birthday of the former commander of the partisan detachment of Gorna Oryakhovitsa, Dimitur Dyulgerov-Kiskinya, has been held in Gorna Oryakhovitsa. Dimitur Stoyanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of internal affairs; Sava Dulbokov, first deputy chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, and Hikola Tsonev, first secretary of the Veliko Turnovo Okrug Party Committee, attended the celebration. [Summary] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Oct 84 p 2]

KHRISTOV ATTENDS VARNA MEETING--A meeting of the Varna Okrug Party Committee Bureau with aktive propagandists and ideological cadres was held in Varna on 17 October. Emil Khristov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, was also present. This meeting, with which the new party school year was opened, actually was also a closing manifestation of the "days of the propagandists," which were organized from 8 to 12 October. [Excerpt] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Oct 84 p 2]

NEW FOREIGN PRESS CENTRE--Sofia, 19 Oct (BTA)--"In this country the attitude towards the foreign mass media representatives has always been very good and is due to our profound conviction that the exact and objective information is contributing to the acquaintance of nations, helps promoting the cooperation between countries, the resolving of the controversial issues in a peaceful way, especially in the complicated international situation of today." With these words Mrs Mariya Zakharieva, deputy minister of foreign affairs, opened the new Press Centre with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs today. It is situated in Sofia's Park Hotel Moscow and makes available to the foreign journalists all conditions for normal and fruitful work. Their accreditation will take place at the press centre, and the foreign journalists' club will also be there. The special halls available at the hotel will be used for meetings and press conferences. All Bulgarian newspapers, magazines and reference literature will be made available in the library, the Press Centre will also be equipped with telephone and telex connections and a special telex will receive the BTA foreign language services. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1300 GMT 19 Oct 84]

TANCHEV, SYRIAN AGRO-UNION OFFICIAL--Sofia, 19 Oct (BTA)--Yesterday Mr Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union, first vice president of the State Council, received a group of leaders of the Syrian Peasant Union headed by Mr Taufik Al-Alu [spelling as received], an outstanding worker of the Union. The Syrian guests made a high

assessment of Bulgaria's achievements in the building of socialism and especially in agriculture, and Bulgaria's consistent peaceful policy in the Balkans, in Europe and the world. Mr Petur Tanchev voiced the full backing expressed by the Bulgarian Agrarian Union and the Bulgarian public to the just cause of the Arab peoples to do away with the aftermaths of the Israeli aggression, to recognize the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine including their right to found their own independent state. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1304 GMT 19 Oct 84]

ALEKSANDROV MEETS METEOROLOGY OFFICIAL--Today Mr Chudomir Aleksandrov, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Prof Goldwin Olu Partiknobassy [spelling as received], the secretary general of the World Meteorological Organisation. A talk was held on the development of the cooperation between Bulgaria and the world organisation in the field of hydrology and meteorology. The meeting was attended by Prof Georgi Milushev, the head of the Chief Hydrology and Meteorology Department with the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1254 GMT 19 Oct 84]

CSO: 2200,22

TODAY'S SUDETENLAND DESCRIBED

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 11 Oct 84 p 4

/Article by Irena Brezna: "The Former Sudetenland--a Vacuum and Land of 'Dead Villages'"/

/Text/ The former Sudetenland in what is now West and North Bohemia, from which 3 million Germans were forcibly expatriated after 1945, is increasingly turning into a no-man's-land. A total of 1.8 million people lived there in 1970, and the number has since been decreasing. The Czech population which was settled there with great energy after the Germans left is increasingly moving away. While in 1970 there were 22 completely depopulated settlements in the West Bohemian border areas, 10 years later their number increased to as many as 38. The density of population in these areas is the lowest in the whole CSSR, amounting to 31 persons per square kilometer in the flatland and to 11 in the mountain areas.

For Settlement With "People With Stamina"

Official Czechoslovak propaganda assigns great importance to the settlement of this area, which is strategically important for the Warsaw Pact. The Czech economic journal HOSPODARSKE NOVINY of 2 March 1984 says so straight out: "The border areas are of such extraordinary importance to us because they form a highly-exposed boundary between two ideologically irreconcilable world blocs. It is not a question of a problem of West Bohemia but one of the whole CSSR and, in the larger sense of the term, actually one of the entire socialist community. It is necessary for the western border to be settled with strong people with the stamina to resist the ever-increasing ideological diversion by the Western imperialist centers."

From the German point of view, the fate of the Sudetenland is sufficiently known. Assessment of the question from the point of view of a Czechoslovak historian deserves our interest. The Slovak historian Jan Mlynarik, who emigrated from the CSSR a year ago and who has dealt with the Sudeten question for years--and has supplied the data quoted here--touches on the taboo areas of Czech history. In 1981-1982 he was in detention because of his criticism of the horrors which accompanied the deportation of the Sudeten Germans and which continue to form part of a past that the Czechs have still not been able to put behind them. In Mlynarik's view, almost 40 years later nothing

is left of the universal postwar enthusiasm for settling the western border with Czechs. In a thesis entitled "Dead Villages in Bohemian Border Areas," he states that because of a lack of workers there are now thousands of hectares of untilled agricultural land and uncultivated forests in West Bohemia. Appeals for settlement notwithstanding, the Czechs flee as if there were a curse over the land. In historian Mlynarik's opinion, this flight constitutes the historical reckoning for the senseless expulsion of Germans who had inhabited West Bohemia for centuries. At the time the expulsion was an act of revenge for Hitler's crimes and also previous historical events reaching back to 1618--to the defeat of the Czechs in the Battle of White Mountain.

The official press cites unfavorable climatic conditions and tightened border security measures as reasons for the depopulation. But apart from the not exactly attractive landscape with its barbed wire and watchtowers, labor and housing conditions in West Bohemian border areas are unfavorable primarily because of the lack of investments. Unprofitable enterprises are simply shut down. Mlynarik cites the lack of services as one of the primary causes of the depopulation. It is primarily the service enterprises that suffer as a result of the drop in population. Schools and stores are shut down, and bus lines are deleted from the timetable for reasons of economy. Thirty-nine percent of villages are supplied by mobile stores, and 18 percent are not supplied at all. A total of 458 bus connections have been deleted in the past couple of years. Since 142 schools have been shut down. Since there are hardly any teachers who want to come to these border areas 142 schools have been shut down and instruction's conducted in part by untrained staff.

The Expulsion From Today's Point of View

The state now wants to counter the migration away from the area by providing subsidies, but for the time being the funds for that do not exist. While it was planned to finance a stabilization of individual strong settlements in the late eighties, this meant that the weaker villages could continue to die off. Mlynarik says that the Czech people, which in the fateful years of 1945 to 1947 formally agreed with the expatriation of the Sudeten Germans, now is making known its true opinion about the "flight" from these areas.

The author voices the fear that the depopulated areas might now be settled with Great Russians. He recalls that it has always been part of the strategy of the Greater Russian empire to secure the extended boundaries of the empire settled with non-Russian peoples by infiltrating Great Russians.

8790

CSO: 2300/52

RUDE PRAVO CRITICIZES SHINING PATH ACTIONS IN PERU

AU251623 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Oct 84 p 7

[Article by Oldrich Pospisil: "The Dark Direction of the Shining Path; Ultraleftwing Terror in Peru Is Threatening the Positions of Leftwing Forces"]

[Text] The Shining Path is the name by which the ultraleftwing terrorist organization that is claiming allegiance to Maoism and is operating in Peru calls itself. The so-called Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso, or SL in Spanish) is exacerbating to the utmost the tension in this South American country. It started its first "great combat offensive against the symbols of the bourgeois state" 4 years ago in the mountainous, southern part of Peru, in the vicinity of the regional town of Ayacucho.

Using dynamite, they destroyed police stations, hotels, schools, and, for instance, even the experimental agricultural center of the Ayacucho University. They used the inconsistently carried out agricultural reform--which years ago was decided upon by the progressive military government of Peru under General J. Velasquez Alvarado--as a pretext for threatening the functionaries of the local and regional administration. Under this pressure, most functionaries decided to resign; and almost all the other functionaries were assassinated. Toward the end of 1982, the Shining Path--which at that time had already perpetrated more than 3,000 crimes, including the assassination of about 90 policemen and government officials--had already gained considerable control over the Ayacucho area (according to the testimony of certain principal Peruvian papers). As shown by the testimony of one of the few commanders of Shining Path who had been seized, it was their intention to decoy reinforcements of police forces into the area and, by means of a "protracted people's war," to win the sympathies of the farmers and increase the number of their sympathizers. They intended to prove that only they are the "true grave-diggers of the bourgeoisie and liquidators of oppression"; and that the communists and other leftwing forces are "good-for-nothings" (to quote R. Guzman, the ideologist of Shining Path and a former university professor).

The government sent about 1,500 armed policemen with partial military training into the area, together with a special anti-partisan unit--the "sinchi" (warrior in the Quechua language). In the terrain, which was

nearly unknown to them, and nearly impassable, in a region where the population, constantly intimidated by the cutthroats from the Shining Path, refused to cooperate with them, the security forces were unable to achieve any significant successes. On the contrary: This July the Shining Path carried out two large coordinated terrorist actions in the capital city itself. By cutting off the central transmission lines for electricity they plunged Lima into darkness and then immediately carried out more than 30 assassination attempts, above all, with dynamite.

Although Peruvian police spokesmen are assuring journalists that almost 2,000 members of this terrorist organization have already been brought to their death in fighting, and that a further 1,000 are in prison, nevertheless, the repeated coordinated attacks already carried out by the terrorists in the central areas of Peru prove that, essentially the problem has not been resolved. More than 700 of the 1,000 apprehended members of the Shining Path were released because of a "lack of evidence" by judges who are afraid of murder threats. The chairman of the Supreme Court proposes that the terrorists be tried by military courts; and A. Brush Noel, minister of land troops, believes that they should be "shot without any trial."

Recently the minister of interior announced that the police forces, stationed in the southern areas and in the Andes, where martial law had been proclaimed, are being gradually replaced by the Army. And General J. Julio, charged with the supreme command over these Army operations, points out: "A war is being waged in our country, a war which will be neither easy, nor quick for us--if only because it is neither conventional, nor classical. It is a war against an enemy who is acting in the most varied ways, who does not reveal his face, who appears and disappears, who wears no uniform."

The Peruvian press has on several occasions carried proof of the justified suspicion that the bomb attacks on electricity transmission centers and on other strategically significant and well-guarded targets had to be carried out by terrorists who are not only well-informed, but who also have direct contacts with the police officers. On the other hand, certain Peruvian Government figures are resorting to accusations against Cuba and the Soviet Union, claiming that they support these terrorist actions. On the initiative of influential figures in the Ministries of Interior and Defense, but contrary to the Constitution, various semi-military groupings are being set up--including a kind of "parallel troop," which is richly endowed by the companies of capital. The bomb attacks against the offices of the Soviet NOVOSTI press agency and the AEROFLOT airline company in the capital Lima signified a further escalation of terrorism.

As stated in the declaration of the Communist Party of Peru: "The explosion of violence and the activation of terrorist forces in our country are a sign of the enhanced danger of a putsch. The rightwing forces and the oligarchy would like to suppress the true leftwing movement by a coup d'etat, thus eliminating the risk they see in the possible success of the left wing in the elections planned for next March." They are thus serving exclusively the Reagan policy of militarization and of strengthening the fascist forces in Latin America.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

SOCIAL CHANGES REACHED--Prague (CTK)--Currently (from 15 October to 15 November), the social and class structure of the population is being researched throughout Czechoslovakia. The purpose of this research, which is organized by the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and by the federal statistical agencies, is to acquire new data on the developmental changes in the social and class structure of the population; on the political activity and involvement of the citizens; and on further influences affecting the creation of the socialist way of life. The research is carried out on a sample of 24,000 households, selected at random, by persons entrusted with this task and pledged to secrecy. Their visit to the household is usually announced in advance. [Text] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Oct 84 p 2]

CSO: 2400/57

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

COMMENTARY ON NEW SECONDARY SCHOOL CURRICULA

Bonn DIE WELT in German 28 Aug 84 p 1

[Article by H. R. Karutz, Berlin: "SED Increases Pressure on Secondary School Students"]

[Text] The SED wants to influence even more strongly the thoughts and behavior of the GDR secondary school students with the new lesson plans from Margot Honecker's Ministry for National Education that are to go into effect from the start of this new school year. The compulsory agitprop proceedings take effect from 1 September and applies to those 14- to 17-year-old students in the 8th, 9th, and 10th grades. The party is apparently not satisfied with the current results of the political education. The instruction should form a "lasting influence on the ideological, political, and moral education."

Apparently the goal of the newly drafted guidelines is to demonstrate to the students that the "gradual transition to communism" within their own country is an inevitable fact. In the lesson plan for the 10th grade, four main points are named as being decisive. The "proof" that socialism is the "determining power" of the present and that imperialism is finding itself on the "historical defensive." The "relentless struggle between socialism and imperialism" is supposedly the axis of all world affairs. The lesson plan must make the students realize that the crises of imperialism "will continue to worsen and a result of this will be its growing aggressiveness."

More strongly than ever before, the authors of the plans from the Ministry run by the wife of SED secretary general, Erich Honecker, have also stressed the role of the SED: "The most important fundamentals for instruction are paragraph 1 of the SED program, as well as the analyses of the international situation which have been addressed in the literature of the party congress of the SED and the CPSU."

In spite of the ex cathedra proven superiority of communism, "complicating conditions" for continued successes of the "GDR" are cited for the students:

--Shortages and price increases for raw materials and fuels, increased competition on the world market, increasing gravity in the international class struggle, economic war conducted by the USA and NATO against socialism."

--Since it is well known that the class enemy does not sleep, the students are to make themselves fit to "deal offensively with the ideological attacks of imperialism on the socialist planned economy...and the leading role of the marxist-leninist party."

--The students are also supposed to be attuned to shortcomings in their own society. One learning goal is to strive to deal with differences of opinions and life styles in which there is a high consumption by the individual without readiness to achieve corresponding performance.

The party pedagogues have refrained from using phrases like "class enemy" or "opponent", as well as any reference to West Germany.

12348

CSO: 2300/41

IDEOLOGICAL TRAINING OF PRE-SCHOOLERS TO INCREASE

Bonn DIE WELT in German 17 Sep 84 p 1

[Article by H. R. Karutz, Berlin: "More Ideology in GDR Kindergartens"]

[Text] GDR progeny in kindergartens should be more intensively political indoctrinated than ever before. The boys and girls are to be taught "communist morality" from the time they are small onwards. This dictate embodies the basic article of the head of the department for "pre-school education" in the East Berlin Ministry for National Education which is directed by Eric Honecker's wife Margot.

Author Elvira Hepke has summarized publicly the party's latest political directives for pre-school education under the heading "Achieving the Best in Education" in the professional journal "New Instruction in the Kindergarten."

One notices that the concept of "communist morality" is once again used in the text. Margot Honecker herself had been the first to use this expression at the beginning of this year in a trailblazing lecture before the FDJ central council. Up until now the rule was only to speak of "communist education."

The comments of the department head take no greater significance when viewed in relation to the fact that at this time two million mothers and fathers in the "GDR" entrust their offspring to the daycare centers and kindergartens which are operated under a central training and education system. The author refers to the new, recently issued "kindergarten system," the resolutions of the 10th SED party congress and directives of the Ministry for National Education which advocate a heightened ideological pace even in the instruction of the youngest members of society.

Included in the directives to the kindergarten teachers is the following: "These are our tasks which we are to instill in the boys and girls from the earliest age onwards: the fostering of a close solidarity with our socialist homeland, of peace, of friendship with the Soviet Union and with other socialist fraternal nations, of respect for the work done by workers and those people who protect our homeland, as well as the formation of moral behavior."

Apparently some parents do not always agree with what goes on in the 12,800 "GDR" kindergartens. "This applies especially to more trustful cooperation

with the mothers and fathers." The SED author writes that every instructor should know what motivates the parents and "she must also take the advice of the parents seriously."

The popularity and the long waiting times for those few church-run kindergartens in the GDR prove how many parents value the individual over the slogans and the constant atmosphere of competition in society. The tendency towards self-initiative and personal self-determination goes so far, for example, in East Berlin that mothers from the religiously motivated group, "Women for Peace," have established their own shops for children's shops.

12348

CSO: 2300/41

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN PEOPLE'S NAVY REPORTED

Bonn WEHRTECHNIK in German Oct 84 pp 36-41

[Article by Siegfried Breyer: "The GDR 'People's Navy' of the Present"]

[Text] "The members of the People's Navy are proud to have such strong and reliable allies on their side, allies who also stand guard on the oceans with modern, powerful combat technology in order to protect the socialist community. They know how to value the readiness as well as the personal sacrifices and deprivations of those comrades, above all, who thousands of miles from their homes and families, under the tropical sun of the Indian Ocean or in the icy expanses of the Arctic Ocean, contribute to maintaining the peacekeeping mission of the Soviet military power."

These words can be read in a video tape on the People's Navy released in 1983 in the GDR. They make it clear not only how tightly the GDR Navy clings to the Soviet Navy, but also that recently it is moving in the latter's wake. Of the Warsaw Pact navies the GDR Navy seems to be rated the most popular one by the Soviets, their "mentors." Its level of equipment and readiness is high, discipline in the troops is good, materiel conditions are constantly improving, and cooperation with the Baltic Red Flag fleet seems not to pose any fundamental problems--with all that the People's Navy must indeed be a valuable ally.

From its infancy at the beginning of the year 1950--that was when the "protection of the sea boundaries of the republic" was transferred to the GDR Border Police, from which later the National People's Army (NVA) and its various services were formed--until the present, this navy (which since November 1964 is allowed to call itself the People's Navy) has remained quite small, to be sure, but its effectiveness has increased from one decade to the other. Submarines have so far been denied the People's Navy; admittedly, right after the beginning of the naval buildup there were preparatory measures for procuring submarines, and a submarine school had probably also been established, but after the events of 17 June 1953 the Soviet Military Administration (SMA) broke off these preparations. It has remained at that until the present day. At that time it was undoubtedly Soviet mistrust of the GDR Germans--and these were also Germans who had been conquered!--that led to these sanctions, but this suspicion should long since have been reduced, or at

least no longer preserved in the same form. That it has not come to a revision in the meantime may have manifold reasons; so far, there is no indication that there will be a change in the foreseeable future. The People's Navy will, according to all probable predictions, continue to be a navy which possesses no submarines (and possibly may not even have the ambition to get that far). It has long since earned its laurels in other ways, appearing to have specialized in the following operational roles:

- Offensive in readiness and deployment of strike forces against the surface units of the "class enemy."
- Defensive both in antisubmarine warfare and
- in mine countermeasures, and finally also
- in amphibious warfare.

Organization of the People's Navy, its Bases, Schools and Other Facilities

The People's Navy is just as tightly controlled as the other NVA services. The highest authority is the "Command of the People's Navy," based in Rostock, and headed by Admiral Wilhelm Ehm. The naval forces are distributed over several operational areas. The largest unit is the "flotilla," which normally constitutes a mixed unit made up of various types of warships. These flotillas are subdivided into brigades and divisions. These are partly "purebred" type units; there are, for example, mine-detecting and minesweeping units, antisubmarine units, some landing craft units and a coastal defense ship unit, but also picket brigades with fast missile boats and minehunters. The individual flotillas are deployed as follows:

- In the east the First Flotilla, based at Peenemuende, with a mine-detecting and minesweeping division and an antisubmarine division.
- In the north the Sixth Flotilla, based at Dranske-Bug on Ruegen, mainly with fast rocket boats and fast torpedo boat brigades, and
- in the west the Fourth Flotilla based at Warnemuende. In addition to rocket and torpedo boats it includes minehunters, an antisubmarine division and the coastal defense ship division.

To these are added the fourth unit of the "Coastal Border Brigade" (GBK), which is based at Rostock.

The units stationed on land include essentially the following:

- The Permanent Ship's Division on Daenholm near Stralsund;
- The Karl Liebknecht Naval Officers Academy in Stralsund;
- A Navy School in Parow near Stralsund;

- A helicopter squadron with combat and antisubmarine helicopters in Parow;
- The rear services (with mainly logistic duties);
- Various port commands, which have simultaneously been assigned to secure these ports against attacks;
- The Testing Center and the Building Instruction Division, both in Wolgast.

The naval schools have a training ship division, to which a few fast patrol boats and mine countermeasure vessels are always detailed. At the Naval Officers Academy, officers are graduated with a naval academy degree after courses lasting 4 years. Their shipboard training takes place on a "motor training ship," the "Wilhelm Pieck."

In addition there are other institutions and units, according to the Maritime Hydrographic Service (SHD), responsible for surveying the sea and offshore regions along the GDR coast. Subordinate to the rear services are also the replenishment ships, which in part are manned by civilians.

Personnel Strength

The People's Navy including the Coastal Border Brigade has a strength of about 17,000 men, including the 1,800 officers. Of these, about 6,000 serve at sea, not quite 1,000 in naval aviation and about 10,000 on land. The tour of duty is 2 years for conscripts, 3 years for volunteers.

Change of Generations in the Ship Material

At the beginning of their existence the naval forces of the GDR possessed only obsolete ship material, essentially obtained from the Soviet side, which diverted it from the booty of former units of the German Navy. At about the same time, the GDR received permission from the Soviet military administration to build its ship requirement in its own shipyards. This occurred no doubt because the Soviet Navy was still in the midst of its postwar buildup and perhaps believed that it could not spare any of its newly built ships. The concession, rather unusual for that era, may have been all the more simple for the Soviets to make, since in the occupation zone they controlled there were a number of efficient shipyards, which were lightly damaged or even completely undamaged by wartime events. These shipyards had been more or less spared the dismantling which was underway at that time, and after becoming "state enterprises" (VEB) they could certainly be entrusted with the construction of warships. Another motive may have been that the necessary armament, electronics and a considerable portion of the equipment for the units to be built could only be delivered by the Soviet Union anyhow, so that for this reason alone it retained complete control over the GDR warship construction. Thus, from the early 1950's mine countermeasure vessels were built, later submarine hunters and landing craft were added, and finally fast patrol boats as well. In general, these are units which are not on a very high technological level. From about the mid-1950's the Soviet Union began to

deliver ship types which featured a more complex combat technology than would have been possible to build in the GDR. Thus, frigates of the RIGA class (in the GDR People's Navy always called "Coastal Defense Ships") were delivered, further submarine hunters (SO-I-class) and fast torpedo boats (P-6 class), and from the mid-1960's there followed the first fast missile craft (OSA-I-class) and modern, large torpedo boats of the SHERSHEN class.

Many of these ship units classed as initial equipment have long since been worn out and scrapped. With the units built as their replacements a change of generations took place, which has continued since 1970 and which has not been completely concluded even today. Missile frigates (KONI class) built in the Soviet Union have taken the place of the RIGA coastal defense ships, for the HAI-III-class submarine hunters the new models (PARCHIM class) are already in service and the replacement models (KONDOR I and KONDOR II) for the old mine countermeasure vessels were delivered to the units as early as the beginning of the 1970's. Also, the GDR replaced with domestic construction the ILTIS series built in the 1960's, very small torpedo carriers for close-in coastal approaches, operating in calm waters and capable of up to 45 knots. As replacements for them came the higher-performance LIBELLE class in 1972/73. The landing craft were also included in this change of generations. The FROSCHEI-class landing craft built from the mid-1970's have already all been put into service. Even the support and rescue ship category has not been passed over during this change of generation. Poland delivered special vessels and training ships, and modern supply ships have recently been built in the GDR, which appear to replace the insufficient old stock.

For the deadline of 1 January 1984 the following component numbers were established for the People's Navy (in parentheses after each category the type designation of the People's Navy): 2 missile frigates (KSS = coastal defense ships), 15 fast missile boats (RS = fast rocket boats), 18 submarine hunters (UAS = antisubmarine boats), 49 fast torpedo boats (TS = fast torpedo boats and KTS = smaller fast torpedo boats), 47 mine countermeasure vessels (MSR = mine-detecting and sweeping ships), 12 landing craft (MLS = intermediate landing craft).

The Present Types of Warships

Two KONI Frigates

The most powerful warships are the KONI missile frigates built in the Soviet Union, named "Rostock" and "Berlin Hauptstadt der DDR." These ships are vessels with 1,800/2,000 tons displacement, measuring 95 m total length, 12.8 m width and 3.8 m draft. With their combined power plant capacity of 22,075 kW (30,000 hp, one gas turbine and two diesel) they can reach a speed of 30 knots. The armament includes an SA-N-4 surface-to-air missile system for covering the close range, consisting of one cylinder-shaped silo with an extendable and retractable two-branch launcher and a stock of 20 missiles. In addition there are two twin turrets with 76.2-mm L/59 multipurpose guns, two 30-mm AK-230 antiaircraft tube artillery systems, two twelve-fold RBU-6000 antisubmarine rocket launchers, as well as two racks of depth charges. If

need be, mines can also be deployed. The electronics of these units include equipment models known for a number of years. Thus, the STRUT CURVE air surveillance radar, the DON-2 navigational radar and the DRUM TILT weapon control radar have been in service for more than 20 years, the POP GROUP missile weapons control system for well over 14 years and the HERCULES sonar equipment said to be in service on these units for as long as approximately 25 years.

To this can be added the HAWK SCREECH fire control device for the 76-mm guns. Comparable Soviet warships scarcely have anything new to show in this respect, so it can be assumed that this assortment represents the standard Soviet equipment of surface ships in the frigate-size range at the present moment. Despite the relatively advanced age of these installations, it may be assumed that the individual equipment might have been improved from series to series, without this being evident from the external features. Caution should therefore be exercised in evaluating them. It is unlikely that these two units--put into service in 1978 and 1979--will be the last. It is quite possible that their number will be augmented by two, in order to replace the four obsolete RIGA frigates at a 1:1 ratio.

Domestic Production of the PARCHIM Submarine Hunters

The twelve PARCHIM-class antisubmarine vessels constitute a domestic development by the GDR. These were conceived as successors to the HAI-II class and replace them in a consecutive sequence. It is possible that their number will increase by another four units, so that at the end of the series construction 14 or even 16 units will be available. This class--for which the Soviet Union delivered all the electronics--will enable the GDR People's Navy to enter into new developments and technologies, in which up to then they could not participate. Here may be mentioned the 57-mm twin SIF-72, the close-range SA-N-5 antiaircraft missile system and the 400-mm antisubmarine torpedoes, but primarily the dunking sonar for locating submarines and the chaff rocket launcher as means of electronic warfare. Besides these weapons the PARCHIM's also possess an AK 230 tube artillery system and two RBU-6000 multiple antisubmarine missile launchers. If needed, they can also take a load of mines on board. These ships are 72.5 m long, 9.4 m wide, have a 3.5-m draft and a displacement of 960/1,200 tons. The power plant used is two diesel engines with a total of 8,825 kW (1,200 hp) maximum capacity, which should enable the units to reach about 25 knots. These submarine hunters designed in the frigate size range carry the same electronics as the KONI class.

Fast Boats

The 15 fast missile boats of the OSA-I class delivered by the Soviet Union--each equipped with four SS-N-2A ship-to-ship missiles--together with the 18 SHERSHEN-class fast torpedo boats delivered from 1968 to 1976 also by the Soviet Union, form the strike force of the People's Navy. Meanwhile, the oldest boats have been in service for at least 20 years and are thus by necessity likely to be quite run down already. Consequently, acquiring

replacements for them is becoming increasingly urgent from one month to another.

The "Fairweather" fast torpedo boats of the LIBELLE class are also an independent GDR development; delivery of them began in 1972. A total of 30 boats are in existence. These have an operational displacement of 30 tons, are not quite 20 m long, somewhat over 5 m wide and have less than 2 m draft. They are propelled by three Soviet M-50 F 4 diesel engines, which enable the boats to reach a speed of over 40 knots (2,400 hp). They are armed with two stern-launching torpedo tubes and a 23-mm L/80 twin antiaircraft gun.

Mine Countermeasure Vessels

Despite great external similarity, the two KONDOR series, initiated toward the late 1960's, differ from each other by the fact that the smaller of them, the KONDOR I class, is intended for service in close-in coastal areas, but the larger one--called the KONDOR-II-class--for "duty on the high seas," or whatever is meant by that--undoubtedly the area of the open Baltic Sea. While the KONDOR I class serves as guard boats of the GBK, the KONDOR-II-class units continue to perform mine countermeasure tasks. With 260/310 tons and measurements of 55.5 x 7.7 x 2.0 m (KONDOR I class: 225/275 tons, 51.9 x 7.2 x 1.7 m), they are only a little larger in comparison with its predecessors but have the same power plant (with which the KONDOR I boats can reach 21 knots, but the KONDOR II boats only 20 knots); on the other hand, the (defensive) armament of the KONDOR II class is three times as strong, with 3 x 225 mm-antiaircraft guns. Since 1981-82 individual KONDOR-II-boats have been testing new minesweeping gear, to which the 1-Ss/E influence sweeping gear may belong, the details of which the GDR military press has only recently reported. Conspicuous on these units is the installation of a deck house on the stern deck, as well as changes in the equipment issue.

Landing Craft

With the FROSCH-I class the second generation of intermediate landing craft built in the GDR was created beginning in 1976. These units have a displacement of 1,950 tons, are 91 m long, 11 m wide and have a draft of 2.8 m. Their power plant consisting of Soviet M-40D diesel engines delivers approximately 7,000 kW (10,000 hp) output and makes a speed of 18 knots possible. Their loading capacity: 12 BTR 60 armored personnel carriers (or PT-76 armored reconnaissance vehicles) or one combat company with all of its combat equipment or up to 600 tons of other cargo. The armament includes one offensive (support-) component and one defensive component. The first includes two MBRL-122-mm multiple artillery rocket launchers (not on all units), whose fire concentration of fire is meant to make the intended beachhead ready for storming. The defensive components: Each unit has two ZIF-72 57-mm L/80 twin antiaircraft guns and AK 230 30-mm tube weapons. Alternatively, the FROSCH-I-class landing craft can also be used as minelayers; for this they are equipped with the necessary lines of track and mine launching ramps.

The attempt at standardization can be recognized in the two "sea-going combat supply ships," which were delivered between 1980 and 1981. These are built along the same measurements and lines as the abovementioned landing craft, and can take both rolling and non-rolling cargo on board, the first via the bow ramp, the other with loading gear mounted on the deck. Their cargo capacity is estimated at about 500 tons. What is notable about these units is that they have a capacity for laying mines, which is actually quite unusual for auxiliary ships. This clearly indicates the relative significance placed upon mine warfare in the Warsaw Pact navies.

Since 1982 four additional "sea-going combat supply ships" have been put into service. These are described by the name of their class ship, the "Darss." Although with smaller displacements and measurements than the FROSCHE-III class (1,200 tons standard displacement, 68.5 m total length, 10.0 m width and 3.5 m draft), they are clearly capable of carrying more cargo, for example 650 tons of solid goods and about 200 tons POL liquids. They are equipped with the corresponding side-by-side transfer gear for supplying other units.

The so-called "motor training ship 'Wilhelm Pieck'" of the Polish WODNIK type, which has been in service since 1976, is primarily used for training new naval officers. It has a displacement of 1,800 tons and in addition to the crew has accommodations for 100 officer candidates.

Of the other ship material still in existence, a few special vessels are worth mentioning, which are modeled on the KONDOR-I and KONDOR-II classes. They are torpedo recovery boats, reconnaissance ships, one training ship, a surveying ship and one "travelling ship," which may have been intended as a staff headquarters vessel.

The Maritime Hydrographic Service (SHD)

The SHD has only been incorporated into the People's Navy since 1 January 1954 and previously belonged to the area of responsibility of the Ministry of Transport. Its duty is to look after the entire maritime surveying system, for which a series of special ships and vessels are made available to it. Among them are two surveying ships built in Poland. Another was built in the GDR after the model of the KONDOR-II class.

The Helicopter Squadron

According to the original plans there had been intent to establish a naval air force, but in the 1950's the preparations for this were suspended, presumably because of the people's revolt on 17 June 1953. So far the People's Navy has only one helicopter squadron with about 25 combat and antisubmarine helicopters.¹⁾ In the GDR military literature there are references to the

1. The "Taschenbuch der Luftflotten 1983/84" [Pocket Book of Air Forces 1983/84] mentions: "1 (??) helicopter squadron(s) with Mi-14 helicopters" and mentions an inventory of 8 Mi-14 and 5 Mi-8.

fact that the helicopters are principally used for submarine-hunting and antisubmarine warfare (Mi-14).

The 'Rear Services'

In view of the increasing mechanization, the "rear-echelon services" in the GDR are awarded particular importance. They must fulfill their role in meeting the entire demand for materiel, technology, medical and chemical supplies; furthermore, there are salvage and rescue tasks, naval pioneer services and the safeguarding of the naval transportation system.

The Coastal Border Brigade (GBK)

Organizationally, the GBK belongs to the "Border Troops of the GDR," which are directly subordinate to the National Defense Ministry. Administratively and operationally, however, its floating stock is headed by the "command of the Peoples Navy." The duty of the GBK is to guard the more than 330-kilometer-long Baltic coast of the GDR. For this they possess over 30 "border ships" (the majority of them are mine-detecting and minesweeping ships of the KONDOR I class) and guard vessels. A few "technical observer companies" also belong to the GBK. These are distributed over a number of stations and register and check the traffic at sea in the area near the coast visually and by means of radar observation. The GBK has a personnel strength of 3,000 men.

No Naval Infantry

So far the People's Navy does not have its own naval infantry. For amphibious exercises a motorized rifle regiment is called up, without it being possible to derive a naval infantry specialization. There are also no indications yet that this regiment will at some point be incorporated into the Navy.

The Peene Shipyard: Reserved for Warship Construction

The Peene Shipyard, founded on 20 June 1948 on the orders of the Soviet military administration, was originally intended for final outfitting of fishing vessels built by domestic shipyards. This could be started as early as January 1949. In parallel, the expansion to a complete shipyard took place, for which assembly halls, a slip facility and a ship canal lift were constructed. In 1953 it was decided not to incorporate it into the Shipbuilding VEB [State Enterprise] area (today: Shipbuilding Combine VEB), but to give it an independent role. This was probably connected with the circumstance that it had been selected as the future center of warship construction for the GDR naval forces. Perhaps in order to utilize its capacity it was also used to build coastal ships and fishing vessels well into the 1970's and now seems to build only special vessels, such as large bucket-chain dredges for the Soviet Union, although only in small numbers, probably as filler work. However, the construction of warships seems to have absolute priority. Since 1953 the following have been built at the Peene Shipyard for the People's Navy: 12 submarine hunting corvettes of the PARCHIM class, 19

minelayers and minesweepers of the HABICHT I/II and KRAKE classes, 14 submarine hunters of the HAI I/II/III class, 30 landing craft and landing vessels of the LABO, ROBBE and FROSCH-I classes, 5 supply ships of the RIEMS and FROSCH-II classes, 1 surveying ship, 2 torpedo recovery boats, 2 reconnaissance ships, 1 travelling ship, 9 naval tenders, 10 barracks ships, 9 buoy layers, 1 buoy tender, 1 cable layer, and in addition probably a small fast torpedo boat of the LIBELLE class, a total of certainly more than 165 units.

Cooperating closely with the Peene Shipyard is the Construction Training Division and the Testing Center, also stationed in Wolgast.

11949

CSO: 2300/36

HUNGARY

BICAMERAL NATIONAL LEGISLATURE PROPOSED

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 19 Aug 84 p 8

[Interview with director of the International Economics Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Academician Jozef Bognar: "Democracy and Technical Competence"]

[Excerpt] Analysis of a World Phenomenon

[Question] Professor, you were one of the well-known participants in the left-wing/popular movements fighting for the salvation of Hungary in an inhumane period without parallel in Hungarian history. A few years after the liberation the Independent Smallholders' Party--you were one of its leaders--was in effect dissolved. Today it has an appearance that corresponds to Hungarian domestic and foreign policy and to our national characteristics and possibilities. Lively disputes mold both, yet the National Assembly is rarely the stage for them. In order for it to be otherwise, a new suffrage law came into being in the recent past. There are those who ascribe extreme significance to this; others regard it as part of a process. What are your views about this since you have observed so much as a deputy?

[Answer] In the past decades the relationship of the legislative and executive power has come to a crisis. This is a world phenomenon. One of the causes of this crisis is that the executive power (the state administration) has undergone great changes, on the one hand broadening its own possibilities of action, on the other hand plugging into its decisions and determinations everything that modern science, organization and microelectronics make possible today. Among these new active forces it is science especially that plays a decisive role, for today it is necessary to foresee the long-range, environmental and other additional effects of decisions, that only science is capable of. Naturally this does not mean that institutions embodying public opinion and the will of the people are becoming superfluous, for it is possible to make decisions despite the will of the broad masses, but it is not possible to produce economic-political-social results. It follows from this that there is a place and function for popular representation, but modern political-economic theories have not yet found a form in which popular representation can represent politics, public opinion, and technical competence in such a way that it can compete in the latter with the executive power, the state administration.

Let us also think of the fact that an information revolution is often spoken of, yet the ordinary deputy does not have at his disposal sources of information containing even everyday changes. Finally, in socialist society there are no full-time deputies, nor do people struggling with their everyday work have time to prepare themselves for the discussion of very many issues. In this situation, for the sake of the democratization of the debate on significant ideas the practice has developed for social organizations and scientific associations and bodies to debate in advance one part of the pending proposals. Technical competence is present in these bodies and associations (METESZ [Federation of Engineers and Technicians], Agronomics Society, Economics Society, Hungarian Academy of Sciences), and thus the work of the government may receive suitable support in this connection as well.

The National Assembly--naturally--has also advanced considerable in regard to technical competence, for in the various special committees there are significant numbers of deputies who possess adequate knowledge on professional issues connected with the work of the committees. On the other hand a problem is presented in the work of the plenary session in that the electoral system (district arrangement) places in the foreground corporate rather than professional viewpoints, something that also finds expression in most speeches.

In summary therefore I may say that the process of democratization of governmental decisions, which on the one hand is the precondition of consensus and on the other hand of successful implementation, has begun and is making significant progress. In the course of socialist development greater significance has from the beginning been ascribed to direct than to indirect democracy. It is a matter of opinion whether we hold the present system of preliminary consideration or the one that is realized through legislation to be more direct. In the long run a kind of two-chamber system is also imaginable in which the second chamber is composed of experts, a fixed number of whom are delegated by the various professional and scientific organizations (100-200). The second chamber (the first would be a version of the present National Assembly to be developed on the same size scale) would debate from a professional viewpoint issues falling within its sphere of authority and it would have the great advantage compared to the present preparatory process that it would give greater scope to direct, multi-faceted, corporate debate. I will add that this idea is not completely "heretical," for in the Soviet Union--even if it was established for other reasons and even if it is invested with other functions--there is a two-chamber system. (The second chamber in the Soviet Union has a nationality character.)

8971

CSO: 2500/598

RECONCILING BURDENS OF EARLY COMMUNIST TO PRESENT

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 21 Sep 84 pp 3-4

[Article by Istvan Kiraly: "Answers and Choices." This article is a rebuttal of an article by Tamas Ungvari published in the 14 Sep 84 issue of ELET ES IRODALOM entitled "Knowing What Is Better Not to Know," which in turn is a critique of an article by Kiraly published in the No 8, Aug 84 issue of VALOSAG entitled "A Kosztolanyi Debate"]

[Excerpts] Dear Tamas Ungvari:

In last week's issue of ELET ES IRODALOM you wrote an article, in the form of an open letter, regarding my assessment of Kosztolanyi that appeared in the August issue of VALOSAG, under the title "Personal Ethics, Social Ethics." At the end of your article you noted, flatteringly, that you learned how to debate from me, your one-time professor. Therefore it will perhaps not be unwarranted to begin my obligatory and unavoidable answer (after all, good manners require that letters be answered) with a question regarding the methods of debate.

It is worthwhile and possible to engage in polemics only when truly different views are in conflict on some question. Misunderstandings and misconceptions of what one hears are not subjects for debate. They must be eliminated to prevent them from poisoning and hampering mutual understanding.

Therefore I wish to emphasize: there is no disagreement between us in our assessment of pre-1945 Hungarian history. As you very well know, all my writings relating to that period--my essays on Dezso Szabo and Laszlo Nemeth, for example--are arguments against the defiling and degrading myth of a "fascist country." The metaphoric category of "hiding country" that I like to use and have used also in my article--it conveys the rejection and silent protest--already proves this. I do not know on what basis you could have heard this to be almost synonymous with "fascist country."

There is no disagreement between us on the fact that early Marxist criticism's image of Kosztolanyi is profoundly wrong. My essay that appeared in VALOSAG is a chapter from my monograph on Kosztolanyi, the manuscript of which has been submitted to the publisher. The entire book, and the mentioned excerpt as well, is a revision of this early, erroneous assessment. Speaking of [Arpad Szabo's] 1946 essay on Kosztolanyi, I have not concealed its "one-sidedness,"

"indisputably distorting nature," the fact that it harbored "dogmatism, sectarianism and vulgarization" and has served, and still serves, to illustrate the "weaknesses of post-1945 Hungarian Marxist criticism."

Intention and Consequence

This distinction, the consideration of the dialectics of intention and consequence, is important also from the viewpoint of judging the continuity of building socialism. For you know very well that in the late 1940's and early 1950's (you were a reasoning adult at that time) the contradictory climate of opinion, which inseparably blended the true beliefs of socialism with dogmatic rigidity, swept away the most lives dedicated to socialism. It suffices to peruse the newspapers and periodicals of that time: the rhythmic hurrahs and applause on cue, and the frenzied emotion of "Who is not with us is against us" are echoed in the works of that period. The tone was blaring. Today's youth will be misjudging if it fails to see the messianic-chiliastic beliefs, besides the cult of the individual and bureaucratic mentality. It will be convinced that two human disgraces--fear and careerism--were the sole motives of the people living at that time. Faith in "bright breezes" [Miklos Jancso's "Fenyves Szelek"] may seem fanaticism, whereas the two are different. Chiliaristic faith (faith in "bright breezes" is of this type) places in parentheses the question marks of the present, on behalf of the future. It holds that the future is so popular and yet so near, and will automatically solve everything. The essence of fanaticism, however, is never faith in the future, but bureaucratic blindness: an aggressive sense of the infallibility of one's own norms, and hatred of other ideas.

Complete condemnation of the period will be the decisive in the view that attributes only such negative motives to the characters of the 1950's. And every standpoint will become suspect that always emphasizes continuity, although it is aware of the discontinuity. The 1950's will be placed on the agenda time and again as an unsettled and unsolved issue.

The 1950's

There are paradoxical historical periods in which society's deep movement and superficial movement are in sharp contrast: everyday reality and the period's historical importance conspicuously differ; their quality is different. The pre-Thermidor phase of the French revolution or Cromwell's 10 years may be regarded as such periods. And so may the Christian Middle Ages in their entirety. Although the Middle Ages were an inseparable and organic part of the development in Europe, for centuries they could barely rid themselves of the "dark" adjective. The perceived numerous abuses on the surface practically masked what was underneath.

Considering that historical analogies are inaccurate and allowing for the necessary changes where appropriate, I think that the 1950's in Hungary also belong among the paradoxical historical periods of this type. Not least importantly because mistakes accumulated due to irresponsibility and the vanity of the leadership at that time, to their loss of touch with reality and the people, and to their resulting morbid suspicion. Despotism that did not hesitate

to employ show trials and atrocities became the principal instrument of government. A disastrous distortion developed, with tragic consequences: the surface and the depth, the historical motion in the direction of socialism and, as the framework of this motion, the political form characterized by the cult of the individual clashed glaringly.

Numerous films, novels and memoirs have recorded the repugnant burdens of this period. These ranged from the most serious unlawful actions and the various forms of despotism that practically became commonplace; through denunciations, insinuations, SZABAD NEP half-hours, and the ritual of rhythmic applause; to the depressing day-to-day drabness and deterioration of the living standard. A rational person can only condemn all this relentlessly; he is neither able nor willing to justify and defend it. The anger that looking back on this evokes is warranted.

However, all this cannot make us forget the historical movement taking place deep down. That a country organized strictly and rigidly along the lines of a caste system has become transformed; and that Hungarian society--starting out from below, from under its historical and national strangulation, and from abject poverty--has become more homogeneous. The chairmen of agricultural co-operatives, and the one-time blue-collar workers who became enterprise directors symbolized the coming-of-age of Ady's "nation of shy servants." Symbolic was the growing number of new intellectuals that the universities trained from peasant and worker stock; these intellectuals were closely knit with the basic social classes and brought with them a mentality that incorporated the experience of these classes. A great experiment was taking place in the nationalized factories and plants: it too was a step toward a society functioning on the basis of collectivism, from a society based on the principles of individualism. The cultural revolution unfolded: books and culture were no longer the monopoly of a narrow stratum, and study became a part of everyday life.

Not only the rapid industrialization of that time, but also the motion of entire society promised to liquidate Hungary's centuries-old backwardness. The two compasses--one above, the other below--that evaluated the nature of historical development were pointing in the right direction. Seen from above, the country was starting out under the banner of socialism, mankind's most progressive hard-won ideas. And below, despite all the abuses and contradictions, the lower end of the village was climbing up the ladder. Also internationally, the hopes of the oppressed classes and peoples accompanied the developments at home; they regarded us as a historical experiment, as one of the shops for building socialism.

This deep motion explains why a moral person such as Laszlo Nemeth, whom the period had persecuted with torture similar to that of Galilei (the spirit, too, can be tortured, not only the body), spoke out at a time of crisis, during the days of the counterrevolution, for the achievements of the period, although he condemned its barbaric crimes. Reflecting in a sense the paradoxicalness of the period, he felt not only the pain of the wounds inflicted by the horrors on the surface, but the attraction of the depth as well. He viewed the period in its complexity and with all its contradictions.

You too have emphasized that it is our duty to preserve socialism's values and achievements during that period. But these values are inseparable from those who lived at that time, especially from the lives of the dedicated and self-sacrificing workers, the "medium-level cadres" and simple party members, who might have been in contact with the distorting mistakes of the period, and who may have something to be ashamed of when viewed from Laszlo Nemeth's peak of humaneness, yet only their own moral standards and sense of quality, their own conscience can be their judge. Because essentially their attachment was not to the surface mistakes and crimes, but primarily to the depth: by their work they wanted to enhance development in the direction of socialism.

This is why they are unable to view even in retrospect with tragic Oedipal consternation, as you want to, the road they have traveled. To the contrary, with and despite all their real and reasoned self-criticism, Tvardovskiy's words survive in them: "I answer with my head/For my faith in good causes/For how I lived and what I did in the world." They value to this day their faith in society's deep motion at that time. And they are convinced that they were right in their choice to live dedicated lives in the spirit of social ethics, instead of secluded lives according to their personal ethics.

Seclusion, Dedication

My main purpose in writing the article that appeared in VALOSAG was not (what you think) to face the 1950's or even the problems of messianic-chiliastic faith, and especially not to "defend" the one-time assessment of Kosztolanyi, but to convey the spirit of that period and what I feel to be the correct ideological orientation that emerges even from this profoundly mistaken esthetic standpoint.

I am convinced that you are flashing back a subsequent situation when you feel that the key alternative confronting those who were starting their careers around 1946, about the time when the early Marxist assessment of Kosztolanyi was written, was the choice between sectarianism and real Marxism. The main debate at that time was not on this pair of opposites, but on whether to live dedicated or secluded lives, and to accept or refuse commitments. The country had not yet reached the year of change. Writing my article that appeared in VALOSAG, and reflecting on the alternatives of conduct 40 years ago, I selected in part intentionally a manifestation that emphatically revealed the internal contradictions: the obviously unfair article on Kosztolanyi. As an outstanding example, it can illustrate more forcefully the conviction that not the standpoint regarding Kosztolanyi was correct, but--despite all the mistakes and lapses, and even in retrospect from the present--the decision at that time to choose to live a dedicated life, according to social ethics rather than personal ethics.

It is true that since then I know all the things that your article "Knowing What Is Better Not to Know" suggests, the title of which you borrowed from the Oedipus play. I know of the committed crimes and mistakes. I know how much of all this are the inner conflicts and moral question marks for those who live active yet morally demanding lives. For I have not the slightest intention to profess the distorted view that "the end justifies the means." To the

contrary. I am convinced that base means compel us to exercise ruthless and sharp criticism, to judge harshly and to draw consistent and profound conclusions, so that they may never recur. But at the same time I am also convinced that, if the aim is just, all this does not necessarily have to bring with it the abandonment of the struggle, aim-weariness.

A different kind of behavior is admittedly justifiable and understandable: withdrawal and seclusion, the separate world of "ceaseless opposition" or "let us cultivate our gardens." There are no recipes or mandatory principles for personal salvation. The ways of men are complex, and they differ in character. But it is likewise justifiable if someone, undertaking and completing the difficult road of self-examination, reasons that he remains unable to find the meaning of his life elsewhere than in the wake of his old decision. As the refrain in Benjamin's beautiful poem "Under Bleeding Banners" reiterates, "I would do the same thing again."

You may recall that in seminars at the university I liked to discuss works that contain many contrived romantic elements but are nonetheless very moving, such as Moricz's "Betyar" [Outlaw], for example. The message of this work is a memorable experience. What the outlaw hurls at the count's family when he interrupts their supper in the manor, and they in turn scold him as a thief and scoundrel: You, not I, are the thieves and criminals; sitting in splendor and well-fed at a full table, blind to the hunger, darkness and poverty at the lower end of the village.

It was, among other things, Moricz's novel that helped me to understand the moral question of "innocent guilt," of turning a blind eye to the question marks raised by the development of society and entire mankind. To me the situation outlined there has remained a model of the world ever since. Knowing that the symbolic end of the village and the manor do exist and what the differences are between them, I attempt to reflect on the matters of life. I regard as a command the basic rule of social ethics that there cannot be real and complete moral integrity if the ego reconciles itself to the suffering in the world, and if it abandons the conviction that there is salvation for man in this world--although not the way chiliastic faith imagines it and not overnight--and that in the course of history it will be possible to build a just world in which the pain and degrading shame of exploitation, oppression and poverty will be unknown. The abandoning of this conviction, in my opinion, is greater and more painful than any other moral compromise.

Liberalization, Democratization

One might ask what makes this entire problem timely once again. As you yourself know very well, specifically the experienced tragedies have raised doubts--mainly among young people now starting their careers--regarding the truth of social ethics. One of the greatest historical crimes of the cult of the individual was that its blindness and inhumaneness have provided the subjective if not the objective justification for this loss of faith; and they have lent appeal to a behavior that is willing to see human life only between its two ends of birth and death, but does not think about mankind's continuously evolving path, about the vital questions of society. In the ranking of moral values,

the ethics of self-fulfillment has displaced the ethics of service. Many people see in the latter only its dark side, the inclusion of the word "servant," and not the emotion of action that is able to see beyond ourselves. It has practically become a principle that only the lives of individuals can be solved nicely and meaningfully, but not mankind's existence. Seclusion in the personal sphere, concealed identity and protected intimacy is being repopulated.

Against this irresistible form of behavior, in my opinion, we must cite the hard-won truth of commitment, of social ethics, that no cult of the individual is able to discredit. The more so because also certain distorting factors of socioeconomic development may strengthen the credibility and influence of personal ethics. We must not forget that the shifting of the market into the forefront of attention, and the harnessing of its dynamism to the socialist planned economy will not only increase the economy's potential, but occasionally may and will bring back willy-nilly into the economy and morals also the market's mythical hero, the ideal of every liberalism, the model of the "optimally acting and rationally operating economic subject who is motivated by self-interest," the isolated lone producer whose field of vision is limited to his own world and who sees only his own interests.

I am aware of how difficult are the questions I am now touching on. For the idea of reform, and the even wider assertion of the principles of economic incentives and independence do have their opponents. And I am of the opinion that we should by all means avoid supporting them with arguments. Seeing Hungary's present reality and reflecting on the sources of the results of uncommon magnitude achieved to date, it becomes clear to me that it is of fundamental importance for our further development to give individuals, groups and enterprises even more incentives to produce, to grant even wider independence, and to take the market's value judgment even more consistently into consideration. In other words, we need more and not less reform. However, this affirmation must not make us blind to the question marks that surface in the course of progress toward the new. Theory can never justify something that is a problem. This can be a characteristic only of the always threatening, one-way hurrah-mentality, which we must fear.

Contrary to its mission, science is fostering and not dispelling illusions. For example, by its failure to plot truthfully and objectively liberalism's historical path. Science sees only the values that faintly suggest themselves from the past: the initiative, and the special emphasis on personality. But it overlooks the left progression's criticism of liberalism that has traditions of long standing and remains valid even today. It overlooks the fact that often the proper and necessary individualization has become individualism in the course of this development. Autonomy and personal freedom have become ruthless egotism. And this negative possibility is not a thing of the past even in our time. The problem still persists.

Paul Prebisch, an outstanding non-Marxist economist from the third world, has pointed out, for example, how tension is growing in the world even today in the wake of economic management based on Friedmanian neoliberal principles. It perpetuates social conflicts and the gap between affluence and poverty. And

it perpetuates and intensifies them also internationally, opening ever wider the poverty gap between North and South, between developed and developing countries, and digging deeper the threatening and crumbling gulf of despair. Or it will suffice to see how a foreign set of values is gaining acceptance sometimes even in our country, not with the market principle but with its liberal interpretation: profiteering, consumer-orientation, and the prestige of wealth.

Such distortions must be pointed out not against the reform, but specifically on its behalf. The task of today will become obvious only upon seeing these distortions. That even greater effort is needed to ensure that the so important individualization--the entrepreneurship, initiative and risk-taking that drive the economy--occurs not through liberalization, not through the sole producer and the isolated individual, but through democratization in agreement with party policy and socialism's nature, through the activity of autonomous individuals who have a sense of responsibility for their surroundings and workplace, and who have a direct interest in its activity.

Confrontation of the question marks that development raises is necessary not the least importantly because people must be made aware specifically of the different paths of these two possibilities: liberalization and democratization. Only in this way can a constantly present requirement of party policy become a more powerful social factor: that reform thinking within present-day Hungarian society must proceed with arguments for and against.

For I agree with you that the past lying in ambush, the socialist conservatism, the clinging to interests associated with the accustomed, the dogmatism and sectarianism may obstruct the reform. But it may likewise be obstructed (and here I would like you to agree with me) by illusionism that disregards the contradictions and "side effects" in the wake of unavoidable reforms; by the so very old "Nagyidaism," the emotional dissolution that see no problem in the gains of personal ethics and various liberal illusions. By superficiality. By failure to think.

1014

CSO: 2500/12

OSSERVATORE ROMANO QUOTED ON 1964 CHURCH-STATE AGREEMENT

Budapest UJ EMBER in Hungarian 30 Sep 84 p 1

[Quote from OSSERVATORE ROMANO article of 15 September under: "OSSERVATORE ROMANO—About 1964 Agreement"]

[Excerpt] The discussions ended a period of many years, in which the situation of the Catholic Church in Hungary became particularly bad, partially because of the lack of diplomatic relations between the Holy See and the Hungarian State. The positive significance [of these talks], besides opening up new perspectives for the solution of the grave problems in church life, (among these the vacancies created in certain bishoprics was particularly important), was that they could serve as a useful guide for other countries grappling with similar problems. We must note that the results achieved in 1964 were not considered by either half to be final. For this reason, they declared in the communique that they were ready to continue the exchange of views in the future with the purpose of coming to a more complete agreement. In the years that followed the agreement, the delegates of the Holy See and the Hungarian government continued their discussions. The fact that under the leadership of the bishops of certain Hungarian dioceses, the pastoral activities of the Church in many areas were made easier to carry out was largely a result of these contacts. These continue to exist today.

On the other hand, it is well known that the path for discussion has opened up in other countries as well, even though the results in these places are not always as encouraging. Today, as we are able to positively evaluate the twenty year old experience of the practical application of the 1964 partial agreement, on the basis of the concrete results in areas having life and death significance in the life of the Hungarian Church, we express the hope that, thanks to the atmosphere of mutual respect and trust between the Holy See and the Hungarian People's Republic, in the not-too-distant future an even wider ranging agreement can be achieved. This will with all certainty promote better coexistence and cooperation between the citizens of the noble Hungarian nation as well.

CSO: 2500/62

BRIEFS

NEW CHURCH TO BE BUILT--Dr Laszlo Lekai, cardinal, archbishop of Esztergom, chairman of the Bench of the Hungarian Catholic Bishops, held his golden mass on Saturday, 20 October, on the occasion of his 50 years as a priest. The Bench of Catholic Bishops, and numerous guests from Hungary and abroad took part. Representing the Vatican was Luigi Poggi, archbishop Papal Nuncio. At the reception following the mass, Imre Miklos, state secretary, chairman of the State Office for Church Affairs, congratulated the cardinal and praised his outstanding activity. Connected to the jubilee is also the laying of the foundation stone of a new Roman Catholic Church in Bekesmegyer on Sunday, 21 October. [Text] [Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 21 Oct 84 p 3]

CSO: 2500/66

PROGRAM FOR TRADE UNION MOVEMENT DISCUSSED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Sep 84 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Alfred Miodowicz, Chairman of the Commission on the Draft Work Program for the Polish Trade Union Movement by Leszek Mazan: "Our Target: Socialism Without Distortion"]

[Text] The Council of Chairmen of National Trade Union Organizations have drafted and adopted a document of historic importance. The document concerns some 4.5 million trade unions members and indirectly 11 million working people and the broad mass of pensioners. It maps out a work program for the Polish trade union movement.

The following is an interview with Alfred Miodowicz, Chairman of the Commission on the Draft Work Program for the Polish Trade Union Movement.

Question: The opening sentence of the draft says: "Our target is socialism without distortion."

Answer: This target helps us watch and assess the work of the administration where it concerns working people. This is a most crucial statement. The new trade unions will see whether the social accords signed in the August and autumn of 1980 are being carried through. The new trade union movement originated from the workers protest in 1980 and we shall never forget that. Neither shall we forget the experiences amassed during a 100 years of the Polish union movement. We are eager to adopt the best of its achievements, rejecting that which was evil.

Question: What, for example?

Answer: The passive attitude, dependence on the administration, the enforcing of programs and the setting up of priorities in advance. We shall also reject activities at variance with the Constitution of the People's Republic (as we all know, such attempts have been made). We are a part of a sociopolitical system defined in the Constitution. We recognize the guiding role of the party enshrined in the Constitution and consider its program just and advantageous to all working people. The resolutions passed at the 10th Plenum of the PZPR confirmed the relationship between the party and the trade unions to be that of a partnership. The word partnership has the utmost significance here.

Question: How does this all look in practice?

Answer: In practice, as usual, it is people who decide. We are encountering different attitudes and situations. For my part, I am an optimist.

Frankly speaking, I have every reason to think that this genuine relationship, this partnership will become nationwide.

Question: Among the crucial goals the draft lists: the defense of the rights and interests of working people, the fight for the just division of goods, equality before the law, opportunities for the young generation to make careers and social security for Polish families. Are these goals always compliant with the so-called reason of state?

Answer: This is the question I am asked most frequently. The reason of state should provide for an efficient defense of the interests of all working people, and therefore it cannot be subject to public assessment. I maintain the opinion that when controversial issues crop up discussion helps find a *modus vivendi*.

Serious tensions may be avoided provided good will is replaced with common sense. In the present difficult economic situation, for example, the government is seriously reconsidering the possibility of considerably increasing social and housing fund contributions. This is an important effect of the union fight for the social security of Polish families, initiated before the drafting of the program.

Question: During the work on the program special emphasis was put on the necessity to establish a cohesive and clear law that would be carried out and obeyed by all....

Answer: Polish people are particularly sensitive to acts at variance with this law, even if there are many who interpret this law as they wish. The program guarantees control over the practical working of this law so that work is properly organized and paid, according to the conditions and requirements. As a result, collective work agreements have to be scrutinized. Work contracts spelling out wages alone are a mistake. In the Lenin steelmill, for example, once the new wage system was introduced, those employed in production earned comparatively well. I asked furnace workers whether there had been any new employees in the steelmill. It turned out that their number had shrunk instead of growing. Earnings are good but work conditions are not particularly wholesome. One can earn the same wages elsewhere and if not, there are always opportunities for moonlighting.

Question: What does the program suggest regarding this situation?

Answer: We want to adjust the labor code to the requirements set up by the economic reform; we want to be co-authors of the draft program and the amendments to the trade union law. As regards agreements, they should not deal solely with wages but with social problems, including constant improvement of work security and hygiene, technological progress, rationalization and methods to improve work organization. This may be achieved through modernization of the enterprise as well as through innovations that do not involve costly investments.

The program provides for a growth of the role and importance of the social labor inspector as the union guarantor controlling and supervising work conditions. Unions should have the right to suggest laws in matters concerning workers. Any local act in this regard should be agreed with the trade union movement and should not be carried out without its approval.

Question: This means an active participation in the country's social and economic....

Answer: This cooperation boils down to the fight for the dignity of work, for the tapping of all physical and intellectual potential at every position and in every industry. At the same time it is a fight against cunning and taking money for nothing, which is extremely demoralizing and offends the dignity of a hard working man. Good and honest work must always pay, it has to open opportunities for promotion and a better life, both in the immediate and more distant future. I am speaking here about pensioners, who after working for 30-40 years live on the verge of poverty. Tell me, what does a young man think seeing all this. How does he assess his own prospects, what does he think about the idea of respect for many years of good work?

Work has to bring satisfaction. We are reconsidering the revival of competition in work.

Question: Prior to 1980 many prudent directors drafted yearly production plans, by doing so they provided resources to enable them on occasion to take on additional tasks. The political calendar dictated the frequency and form of these tasks and the competition....

Answer: We rule out the use of the direct quota system on the idea of work competition. We should like to revive work competition in enterprises, departments and working groups. Real economic results should be the yardstick.

Question: In other words, it is personal satisfaction, personal financial profits and better results for the enterprise as a whole, you are driving at....

Answer: Exactly.

Question: Discussions on the role and limit of public consultations led to many controversial opinions. What do authors of the trade unions work program think about it?

Answer: People assess consultations in terms of the government's respect for society. But the results of these consultations are given little weight. The program suggests a strict definition of the range of consultations and negotiations with the government regarding the division of the national income and the social policy of the state. Trade unions, and to be more precise, their representatives would lead negotiations in the name of all industries. To become a serious partner in these negotiations trade unions have to have the proper materials on hand.

We would like to have access to the results of government analyses and establish, just as other countries have done, our own analytical-research center.

Question: The heading "shaping attitudes" sounds pretty enigmatic.

Answer: Why enigmatic? The chapter speaks about the need to shape professional ethics, work culture, about respect and recognition for hard working people and about the observance of the principles of social coexistence. This means in practice better utilization of the work of the sociologists. Although they have been employed in the bigger enterprises since 1960 nevertheless conflicts between workers have not diminished.

Question: And now a marginal question--are you in favor of the privileged recruiting of candidates for universities from among workers' and farmers' children?

Answer: I am categorically against all forms of privilege. So-called extra points are just another misunderstanding. I personally think that the cooperation of trade unions and youth organizations may help young people to prepare themselves properly for examinations. This applies to entry examinations as well as to other spheres of life. We should draw on the tradition of the workers' university.

Question: What questions included in the program are the most pressing?

Answer: The question of obedience to the democratic rules, which have been achieved, is the most crucial question both for today and for tomorrow. The same applies to the necessity for a prompt integration of the movement. The central union authorities should not weaken the role of particular unions and federations. They should represent their interests. No statute is able to settle the problem of the new union central agency. This is a question of authority, for which one has to work hard.

Question: The program of the union work will be subject to discussion, it will be examined by millions of union members and working people. What do you think the reception of this program will be?

Answer: Let's hope it will be a critical one. We are looking forward to suggestions, new ideas and amendments. We expect it will not be criticism for criticism's sake, but that it will produce concrete proposals.

CSO: 2600/87

READINESS TO COOPERATE WITH ILO STRESSED

AU251533 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22 Oct 84 p 3

["Observer" article: "ILO Defies Its Own Principles"]

[Excerpts] Loyalty to the UN Charter is a canon of our country's international activities, as our foreign minister stressed at the 39th session of the UN General Assembly. Actively participating in the work of all UN organizations, Poland wants to make constructive contributions to comprehensive cooperation among nations.

Poland's cooperation with the UN organizations has always been good in principle, and this is why it is astonishing that its cooperation with the ILO, which was set up as far back as 1919, is bad.

The ILO's present policy toward our country is still tendentiously tied to the introduction of martial law, although Poland has gone through many phases in its political life since 13 December 1981 and is now in the phase of normalization. Poland has never denied that the 1980-1982 events were related to ILO Covenants, especially Covenant 87, which refers to trade union freedom and to the protection of trade union rights, and to Covenant 98, which relates to the right of association and collective bargaining. However, it is also true that in those days most of the leaders of Solidarity transformed it into a political movement and thus violated the constitutional order of People's Poland. The ILO did nothing to draw Solidarity leaders' attention to this fact.

Solidarity continued to discard its initial nature of a trade union born of a workers' protest and violated Covenant 87 by failing to conform to the trade union statutes. This covenant states that "employers, employees, their trade unions, other persons, and organized groups should observe the legal norms valid in their countries, while implementing the powers bestowed on them by the covenant."

Solidarity continued to violate this requirement, to consistently transform itself into a purely political movement, and to threaten the entire organization of state life and national existence. The introduction of martial law and the suspension of Solidarity and other trade unions put an end to further destructive activities. All trade unions were finally disbanded as late as October 1982. The Sejm passed a trade union act and made possible a rebirth of a genuine trade union movement. Despite their drastic nature, the two decisions were not in conflict with our domestic laws and with Poland's international obligations, including its obligations vis-a-vis the ILO.

The trade union act, which came into force on 1 January 1983, has created legal premises for the rebirth of a genuine trade union movement. It is therefore a paradox that the ILO, which was created to protect the interests of workers, is against the Polish trade union movement by being against Poland and is trying to halt the rebirth of independent and self-governing trade unions.

The composition of the present trade union movement is quite motley as regard its members (about 60-70 percent of them are production workers), former trade union affiliation, and individual sectors of the national economy. At present, it is the most massive social organization in Poland and totals some 4.6 million members, which is some 40 percent of all the persons entitled to join trade unions. Our trade unions continue to represent the interests of all employees to an ever increasing extent as attested to by the growth of their supraplant organizations (in line with the State Council's resolution of 12 April 1983) and of their national federations. This means that our trade union movement continues to strengthen, albeit not without problems. It is therefore startling that the ILO refuses to take note of this and continues to tendentiously raise past issues, which have been solved by our sovereign state, and to use them as a means to an end.

It should be stressed that the PPR Government informed the UN secretary general about the introduction, suspension and abolition of martial law and has all the time maintained contacts with the ILO in order to inform it about our trade unions and the stabilization of our sociopolitical situation.

Noting the progressive escalation of anti-Polish activities on the part of the Western forces of confrontation and some West European trade union centers, mainly the ICFTU and the World Confederation of Labor [Swiatowa KONFEDERACJA Pracy], the Polish Government hastened to state that this escalation would affect our cooperation with the ILO.

Our government rejected the decision of the ILO Administrative Council to transfer the Polish question to the so-called Investigating Commission on 27 May 1983, because this decision was unjustified and constituted interference in our internal affairs. Defying the principles of the United Nations, the ILO continues to usurp for itself the right to evaluate the internal situation of a sovereign state and to question the legality of emergency measures adopted in Poland. This is why Poland was absent from the 69th ILO session.

In connection with the 70th ILO session, PAP reported on the PPR's official position on 21 June 1984. The PAP communique stated that "Poland is ready to resume its cooperation with ILO as soon as reasons for its suspension cease to exist and as soon as the activities of the so-called Investigating Commission are ended. Unfortunately, the ILO circles that are hostile to Poland are trying to rapidly publish the commission's 'findings' based on one-sided and anti-Polish materials. If these findings are published, another hostile act would be committed against Poland, which would in this way be forced to take further measures--in line with the declarations made on 31 May and 24 June 1983--regarding its membership in the ILO. Poland wants to avoid this."

This shows that Poland has taken a consistent and constructive position. The letter sent by the Polish permanent representative to the director general of the ILO on 21 September 1984 stressed that the present nature of Poland's relations with the ILO "hinders the ILO from playing its appointed role and damages not only Poland's interests, but also the interests of other member-states, for which the implementation of the ILO's aims and principles is not a matter of indifference. The same applies to the ILO's interests. We have stressed many times that Poland is not interested in leaving the ILO. Good will continues to be the crux of Poland's position."

However, if the 228th session of the ILO Administrative Council adopts the report of the so-called Investigating Commission, it will commit more than a hostile act against Poland, an act that will make our country leave the ILO. Such an act will be one more proof that the ILO continues on aggressive line of confrontation, which will be of serious consequences for international cooperation. Poland is not alone in the ILO. Poland's position vis-a-vis the ILO enjoys the full support of the socialist and of many developing countries.

Will the ILO display good will and will it revise its position, which is motivated by nonstatutory and purely political considerations?

CSO: 2600/90

GOVERNMENT'S OPPOSITION DISTINGUISHED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 22-23 Sep 84 p 3

[Article by Artur Bodnar: "Opposition--Myths and Reality"]

[Text] The term "opposition" has become fashionable. While a year or two ago it was applied almost exclusively to implacable opponents of the authorities, it has now acquired new shades of meaning. This is largely due to the July amnesty and the positive changes which have taken place in the political views of many groups. I think it was KTT who recently wrote in POLITYKA that we have the opposition, the semi-opposition and even the quarter-opposition. Fashionable terms become widespread because they allow various interpretations.

So the term "opposition" is applied in general to the enemies of socialism in Poland. These, however, are relatively few. The term "opposition" is commonly used to denote the people who are bitter and have various political doubts and bad experiences. These people are among the 25 percent who did not vote in the June elections to the people's councils. Some apply the term "opposition" to the deputies who take a different stand during Sejm debates and testify to this during voting. Also the sectarian dogmatist who rends his garments over what he believes to be the insufficient progress of socialism in Poland could be called an oppositionist. In this sense, the term "opposition" may also be applied to a politicking cleric who curses his community and the authorities for scandalous liberalism and unsatisfactory observance of the church's commandments and of civic norms.

I read attentively TRYBUNA LUDU's reports from workers' discussions in connection with the questionnaire addressed to many party organizations after the 16th PZPR Central Committee Plenum. These discussions have revealed diverse, sometimes contradictory, opinions concerning, for instance, the preferential treatment of university candidates with a worker or peasant family background on the problem of paid child-care leave. This means that many worker communities are opposed to these practices adopted by the authorities.

So who and what does the opposition oppose? In political science, the term "opposition" is applied to those individuals or groups who participate or would like to participate in public life, but hold different views on various social issues which have considerable political import. I mean, of course, views which are different from the views professed and put into practice by the authorities.

However, this definition provokes some doubts as the authorities do not adopt views merely by the will "of God and history"; their power is not usurped, but exercised by the will of the majority of society. However, Polish society is made up of various groups differing considerably as regards wealth, income, living standards and conditions of work, education, religious views, job prestige, ideological and political orientation, etc.

So there are many factors which divide Polish society and give rise to opposition. The divisions which arise as a result of these factors are not the same as the divisions according to classes and strata. These factors and the current interests and orientations which they produce are of an objective nature, so are independent of the authorities' will.

As a result, the authorities are under the constant pressure of diverse grass-roots groups which have incompatible view and interests.

The important question arises here whether the power structure, or--as Professor Jan Szczepanski would put it--the managerial system of society, reflects these divisions in society. Do the disputes, haggling and compromises which take place during the decision-making processes within this system sufficiently reflect the diverse views and interests of society? With the current managerial system in Poland, I am inclined to answer this question in the affirmative. However, speaking of the authorities, one should bear in mind that in time myths and distortions begin to surround them. These myths and distortions are often deliberately invented by their enemies at home and abroad, but sometimes also arise through the authorities' fault.

The system of political power comprises not only the PZPR, although its position is special in view of its worker character and the party's resulting leading role which is guaranteed by the Constitution. The power system also includes the political alliances and associations of lay Catholics. Because of the problems they have to deal with, trade unions and their national forum are also close to the power system.

The PZPR is situated in the front of the political stage. One factor conducive to its prominent role is that the party no longer requires its members to identify with the decisions of party members on top posts in the state and economic administration. This is shown in critical tones in the party press, for instance. The officials are to implement the party's political line, while the "details" depend on their social imagination and ingenuity, which may fail them.

The political alliances, in turn, are not always so open and willing to reveal the processes taking place within them as the PZPR; they are even less inclined to voice controversial views prior to government or Sejm decisions. I may be unfair, but I think that the papers published by the alliances are too often wishy-washy. Meanwhile heated debates (some involving representatives of the party and the alliances) are taking place in sound-proofed offices. This practice of operating behind closed doors makes the decision-makers' life easier, but does not help society, as it confuses the average observer and makes him feel under-informed.

One example of the reluctance to reveal arguments and discussions was provided by the recent meeting of the College of Leaders of National Trade Union Organizations. When it was dissolving itself, the college issued a draft declaration of ideology and program to trade unions; as we know from other sources, the college adopted this draft following fervent debates.

If, despite everything, some good things may be said about the openness of political life at national level, the situation at regional level is much worse. For nearly 40 years we have not managed to work out a suitable program for the local authorities. As a result, our sociopolitical system is said to be non-articulative. This evaluation is rather unfair, as in politics all things are relative, but it has often been confirmed in practice. So sometimes one can hardly be surprised that people feel insecure and distrustful. This plus the fact that the crisis is not conducive to optimism provides a natural breeding ground for opposition.

For the purpose of this study, one can distinguish three kinds of opposition in the Polish political life--situational, programmatic and anti-socialist. Situational opposition is common and stems from different views on concrete issues. This kind of opposition exists within the power system, too. It is a natural feature of public consultations and decision-making processes. In the collective sense, this kind of opposition is present in the institution of polemics, resolutions or protest letters.

Situational opposition may breed programmatic opposition on one or several issues of public importance (as was the case after August 1980, for instance).

At present, quite a few people in Poland who have ceased to trust the former Solidarity leaders are looking for new outlets for their opinions on various matters which are making life difficult for the average citizen. It may easily be predicted that these people will criticize various government institutions and social groups. If these people will respect the political and legal order in the state, we have to accept their existence. Of course, the authorities will be very cautious with these people, but they should not be blamed for it. No sensible person wants a repetition of the situation when--to paraphrase Primate Wyszynski's words--a ladder was leaned against the authorities in order to take away power and start from scratch, from social and political chaos, which the Primate, and not only the Primate, has warned against. This is the nature of the antisocialist opposition in Poland, which the ruling political forces are fighting, supported by the vast majority of the public.

Professor Mikolaj Kozakiewicz is right when he writes that "we should not be afraid of the opposition, but learn to live with it." But one has to ask: with which social group should we learn to coexist? Coexistence needs the will of all the parties concerned. Coexistence requires that the sides respect specified rules.

Our society is changing. It is recovering from the shock it has gone through faster than we had expected only a year ago. This opens new horizons and produces new challenges, which the institutions of political life have to face. In recent months, the authorities and the public have been in agreement, for the first time for a few years, on a broad range of the most important issues. But this also means that the authorities will have to work hard in the future.

SOCIAL ATTITUDES OF STUDENTS ASSESSED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish No 233, 29-30 Sep 84 p 3

[Interview with Zbigniew Necki, Ph.D. Head of the Social Psychology Department at Jagiellonian University: "Power of Stereotypes"]

[Text] Question: At the last, 25th Congress of the Polish Psychology Society, you presented a report on your research assessing Poland using Leon Festinger's theory of social comparisons. The heading of the report is "Social Communication and Visions of Poland and the World." The research work was carried out as part of the program "Personality Changes and Forms of Cultural Life Under Social Reform." Could you tell us, to start with, what the theory of social comparisons is?

Answer: The essence of Festinger's theory lies in the belief that attitudes toward one's own ethnic group are related to one's attitudes toward other ethnic groups treated more or less as reference groups. The lack of comparisons or comparisons drawn between improper, too greatly dissimilar countries may lead to distortions in one's assessment of one's own nation, undermine the stability of this assessment, or cause the assessment to vary greatly.

Question: Why did you do this research just before the end of last year?

Answer: Well, the problems connected with the Polish people's self-assessment are becoming increasingly severe. The postwar period, and especially the last few years, have been marked by ups and downs which have shaken the nation's perception of itself, its autostereotypes and cognitive schemes, connected with its vision of and the role of Poland in the international system. We tried to answer the question: how do Poles assess their homeland and to what extent is their assessment influenced by international comparisons and assessments. The main purpose of the comparison is to assess one's own country. This assessment is indispensable for making further decisions regarding the nation's future.

Question: It seems to me that decisions regarding one's own future, especially those made by young people (as they constitute a majority of the respondents), depend to a greater degree on whether being a Pole is a reason for a positive or negative self-assessment. This problem was the subject of your research.

Answer: Indeed, the respondents often disclosed that in some circumstances they were ashamed of being Poles (44 percent). The chief causes of this shame were everyday situations that they had encountered abroad or about which they had heard. They were ashamed that some of them had behaved in an undignified manner to acquire material benefits.

Question: Is this the only reason?

Answer: There are other reasons as well, for instance, shame at having belonged to certain professional or local communities. Peasant descent or some trades' loss of prestige is often cited as a reason for shame. There are also many reasons for being proud of being a Pole, especially historical reasons. Poles are proud of their fathers and grandfathers and of their military successes. The combative spirit of the Polish soldier was often quoted as a reason for national pride.

Question: How should one reconcile these declarations with our generally inadequate knowledge of history? The results of the history test that you administered sound embarrassing.

Answer: I cannot deny it. This is true. Our knowledge of history is poor and boils down to a sense of grand, tragic events. History functions as an association of certain symbols all over the world. This is also true of Poland; Kosciuszko, Racławice, Grunwald suffice to build up a sense of national pride.

Question: This pride rests on emotion.

Answer: You're right. The knowledge itself has little impact on patriotic attitudes. These attitudes are not connected with knowledge but with emotion; they are taught in the family, through international comparisons, or expectations.

Question: Do Poles base their sense of national pride only on history?

Answer: No, not only. They base their sense of Poland's popularity in the world on the selection of a Polish Pope, the events of August 1980 and various sports events.

Question: What do the respondents think of Poland's current condition?

Answer: There are many aspects to this assessment, and I will discuss only a few. As far as our general assessment of our prosperity goes, for example, the majority places Poland at the bottom of the so-called first and second world countries.

This position is by no means bad. When asked whether, economically, Poland belongs to the Third World, the majority answered negatively.

We are more critical in our assessment of social phenomena. When asked whether people's demands would be met, 49 percent of the polled said the possibilities were remote, and 16 percent said there was none. As regards finding a job commensurate with one's education, the numbers were 48 percent and 17 percent, respectively. As regards realizing the idea of equality between people, 14 percent said the possibilities were remote, while as many as 70 percent said there was none. With one reservation, the poll was carried out among Cracow students, and students are always the most critical group in any country.

Question: Without generalizing these statements to all of society, one has to say that they accurately reflect students' views. In this context, how do the respondents evaluate Poland's prestige in the world? It cannot be extremely high, can it?

Answer: On the contrary. According to the students, Poland's prestige is much higher than one might expect it to be, taking into account Poland's internal situation. As a rule, prestige depends on material resources and economic position. As regards prosperity, Poland ranks low; as regards prestige, high. On this scale we rank just behind the most powerful countries in the world.

Question: Then, our frame of mind is good?

Answer: Poor but proud. This is just another one of our popular stereotypes.

Question: International comparisons occupy a prominent position in your work. With whom do Poles like to compare themselves?

Answer: We like to make very ambitious comparisons. We compare ourselves to Western countries, the most developed ones such as the United States, Japan, France, Sweden and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Question: You said these were ambitious comparisons. Aren't they suicidal in fact? Comparing oneself to standards which we cannot possibly match in our lifetime is detrimental to our assessment of our homeland and produces deep frustrations.

Answer: This is true; these comparisons are a source of frustration. They encourage escapist visions, yet there is a flicker of hope in drawing these comparisons; while in drawing comparisons with poorly developed countries, there is no hope. Thus, I prefer the word ambitious to suicidal.

Question: The word stereotype has occurred in our conversation a few times. When reading your paper I had the impression that this stereotype, is always present in our assessments of ourselves and others. It became most flagrant, however, in the survey regarding our sympathy for other countries. What country do we like the best? Is it France?

Answer: Generally speaking, the survey revealed a deep sense of unity with the West. It originates in tradition, and our postwar experiences have not changed this general feeling. France is the country most liked. What is more, the respondents believe that this sympathy is mutual. Anyone who has lived in France for some time will challenge this opinion, but Poles are inclined to believe that, if they like somebody, this sympathy is mutual. The British are an exception. Respondents spoke about them with great sympathy but did not expect sympathy in return. They claimed the British like only themselves.

Question: Who comes next?

Answer: The Hungarians.

Question: A Hungarian and a Pole are best friends?

Answer: That's it. It is amazing how deeply this slogan is rooted in our social conscience. It turns out that sometimes small episodes in history and sayings consolidate as time goes by. Our present sympathy for the Hungarians is based on this old saying and not on our admiration for their reforms.

Question: Do international contacts, the development of tourism help break down our stereotypes?

Answer: Surprisingly, they do so only to a slight degree. Some countries are traditionally underestimated, and others, overestimated. The respondents who have been to the West, assessed the Western countries more critically.

Question: As a social psychologist, what is your professional opinion of the research work?

Answer: Let me explain why I engaged in this research. I am attracted by the opportunity to make our assessments of Poland and other countries and of their mutual relations more realistic. The fact that we, Poles, are so easily deluded by stories about a good Uncle and a happy life in the West, hurts me. On the other hand, we find it difficult to believe that we belong to a people that has defended many extraordinary values, such as kindness and friendliness, openness, and an uncommercialized soul.

A real self-assessment should account not only for our fabulous history but also for the values that we defend as a people. Our image of Poland, like our image of other nations, seems to be unreal. We know too little both about ourselves and others.

Question: Your work helps enhance this knowledge.

Answer: I would like it to encourage reflection. I would like it to prevent us from making superficial judgements. Let's analyze our own behavior,

including our political behavior, instead of adopting opinions suggested by others. The resilience of stereotypes is indeed amazing. Stereotypes keep us from reality and produce dissatisfaction. Most sadly, however, stereotypes replace knowledge and excuse thoughtlessness.

- Thank you for the interview.

Interviewer:
Janina Paradowska

CSO: 2600/72

NEED TO IMPROVE PHILOSOPHY TEXTBOOKS STRESSED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 17, 10 Sep 84 pp 36-39

[Article by Achim Miha: "Greater Demands Upon Philosophy Instruction"]

[Text] As part of the entire Romanian people's effort to greet the 13th RCP Congress with new achievements in their work, the teachers of history, scientific socialism, political economics and philosophy in higher education have vital tasks in the effort to indoctrinate youth in the spirit of the RCP's ideology and of Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu's policies and directions. Among the latter, matters of improving the theoretical content of patriotic and revolutionary indoctrination and introducing philosophical instruction in it more effectively are of particular importance. We shall discuss below some aspects of these two problems, in the hope that our opinions can provide a starting point for a discussion with conclusions that will be useful to all those interested in improving the philosophical instruction of youth.

As we know, philosophy is taught in Romanian education of today on three levels of accessibility and complexity, namely in high schools, in all faculties of institutes of higher education, and in the subject faculties, that is those of history and philosophy. Although these differences are important, they do not exclude but rather call for theoretical and ideological unity of the content of organized philosophy instruction. It is intended to teach one and the same content everywhere, namely the RCP's revolutionary conception of the world and life. What should differ, for psychological and pedagogical reasons, is the scope of the subjects, the degree of their specification, their coordination with the history of philosophy and the technical terms, their correlation with the philosophical disciplines (ethics, aesthetics, social philosophy, and epistemology), their adjustment to the cultural and scientific needs of the various categories of youth, etc.

It is our impression that philosophy instruction in the faculties of history and philosophy is the most important element in this unity and diversity. Intentionally or not, it has been instituted in a form that is basic to the other two levels in one way or another. High school philosophy teachers naturally teach philosophy as they learned it in the subject faculties. Generally speaking, the students in the other faculties are given a variant of the textbook in the

faculties of philosophy and history (Some teachers actually use this textbook in their work in the other faculties) that is somewhat less pretentious to be sure, and partly adapted to the curricula of the various institutes and faculties. The programs for the philosophy professors' final and qualifying examinations are patterned on the same model. Therefore we feel that knowledge and analysis of this textbook are important ways to improve all philosophy instruction in Romanian education.

The single philosophy textbook entitled "Dialectical Materialism" (Didactic and Pedagogic Publishing House) was written and made available to the students in the faculties of history and philosophy in 1982. Its structure and a number of its subjects include some elements that differ from the preceding textbook for the same purpose published in 1973 ("Dialectical Materialism. Lectures") whose value and justification are debatable. It seems relevant to include questions of space and time in the chapter entitled "The Dialectical-Materialist Conception of Matter," but we think it is questionable to omit a separate chapter on the relationship between determinism and freedom. The far too close resemblance of some lessons in the 1982 textbook to those in the 1973 one lead us to suspect that insufficient efforts were made to renovate it. We cannot fail to note the clarity and quality of some lessons in Chapter IX ("Dialectics of the Concrete and Abstract and of the Empirical and Theoretical in Scientific Knowledge") and in Chapter XI ("Dialectics of the Historical Development of Scientific Progress and Knowledge"). But analysis of the 1982 textbook cannot stop at just these few considerations, now that a philosophy textbook for students in all faculties is in preparation and the high-school textbook is in acute need of radical renovation. We feel it must be pursued further.

First we would say that Chapter II is mostly historical (42 pages). It emphasizes the Marxist revolution in philosophy. But the subject is also treated in the high-school textbook that every student of today has had to study at some time. And when we consider the students in the faculties of history and philosophy, it is well known that they have a separate course of a whole year devoted, among other things, to the study of the history of Marxist philosophy. Under these circumstances we do not consider the approach to the subject in the 1982 textbook adequate. The superficial presentation, with no effort toward in-depth examination or differentiation, of the Marxist revolution in philosophy sometimes makes a pedantic impression upon the minds of students, who may wrongly imagine that no future revolutionary reforms are possible in philosophy. And then it should be said that in the same chapter the concept of revolution should be scrutinized and correlated with that of scientific revolution, with which the students in the faculties of history and philosophy have been in contact not only in their courses on epistemology and the history of contemporary philosophy but even in the very textbook in question (pages 400-403).

Furthermore the subject of the sources and components of Marxism is treated on the turn-of-the-century level of knowledge, in our opinion. Today we know that Marx' thought had an anthropological source in Kant, Hegel and Feuerbach but also one in the Hegelian left (Moses Hess especially), while it is an anthropology in its content. The sources in political economics come not only via the representatives of classic English economics but also from Hegel, who presented some very profound ideas about the economic thought of his time in his study of the philosophy of law. As for scientific socialism, it did not originate solely in

the Utopian, so-called classic one (R. Owen, Fourier, Saint-Simon) but also a number of representatives contemporary with Marx and active in the French intellectual life of the time and in the German labor movement (Etienne Cabet for example). Are there grounds then for maintaining that Marxism had no source in history (as a discipline) or that it represented no theory of history? The influence is well known of the French historians in the Restoration period upon the development of the materialist conception of society. Moreover Marx, through his ideas, provided history with a new philosophical paradigm, to say nothing of his effective contribution to the study of historical events. And the literary movement of the time also influenced the formation of Marx' conception very heavily.

Furthermore the academic tone of the 1982 textbook is also due to the presence in the text and footnotes of a great many names of philosophers and other scholars and scientists, most of whom lived in the past. The total number of these names is almost equivalent to that in technical textbooks on the history of philosophy. The numerous names of some nonphilosophers encumber those who study the textbook, compelling them to use various encyclopedias if only to learn how to pronounce them. Accordingly reading it leaves the impression not only of a concession of space and attention made for the history of philosophy in particular but also of a display of erudition that could be taken as a means of making the examination difficult for the student. But we must stress the point that eliminating the surplus names is in no way intended as a rejection of the task of keeping the philosophy textbooks abreast of what is really worthwhile in philosophical thought. As we know that task is assigned in the RCP documents to both the natural and technical sciences and the sociohuman and philosophical disciplines.

Theoretical and ideological justification for dividing philosophy into dialectical materialism and historical materialism is particularly important. For the most part the 1982 textbook (as well as the latest high-school textbook) opted for the division of philosophy into two parts, improved by the introduction, in a few cases, of subjects going beyond what could ordinarily be called "the philosophy of nature" (in chapters III, V and VII) in the treatment of dialectical materialism. Dialectical materialism so understood is presented as a kind of general philosophy to which historical materialism is subordinated as a *sui generis* particular as contrasted with the universal.

Certain judgments about the relationship of dialectical to historical materialism are formulated at one point in the textbook, but we think they complicate the interpretation of the problem and the stand taken because they are on different levels of reference. First the general idea is invoked that Marxism "embodies the unity between materialism and dialectics in the interpretation of both nature and society. Therefore it is a unified dialectical-materialist conception of the world (in general) and of life (social)." (p 62) Or in other words, "The Marxist classics saw in their philosophy a dialectical-materialist conception both of nature and of society as a qualitatively distinct part of nature yet a part of it. (p 63) Logically speaking, we think, we are in the presence of a paradox: Society is part of nature and accordingly of the same quality as nature, but it is a distinct, qualitatively different part of it. A veritable tour de force is based upon those debatable grounds, but a no greater one than the 12 lines in which the ideas of Gramsci, Lefebvre, Lukacs, Sartre, the

"Frankfurt School" et al. are rejected (indiscriminately) because they think that Marx resolved the conflict between materialism and idealism, that Marxist philosophy is equivalent to "historical materialism," and finally that dialectical materialism is an "invention" of Engels and Lenin in deviation from Marx' original thinking. We believe all those criticisms are intended to defend an interpretation of Marxist philosophy that was taboo in a certain period. The philosophy students, and not they alone, can find very important and conclusive data on the conception of A. Gramsci, G. Lukacs, H. Marcuse, J. Habermas and E. Fromm in the translations and studies published in Romania in recent years, wherein they can check the actual conception of the Marxist thinkers criticized in the textbook. What some of them intended to do was to extend the way Marxist philosophy is to be viewed and understood in its complete unity and to bring out its constant receptiveness to the new.

We feel the interpretation of philosophy as a general study and interpretation for man of the inseparable and active relationship between man, nature and society, in the light of the most burning questions that trouble man's awareness, is much more true to Marx' real thought. To our knowledge the dichotomy between dialectical materialism, treating nature (Marx wrote, "Nature considered in the abstract, for itself, and apart from man is nothing for man") and historical materialism, treating society in general, is not to be found in the works of the author of "Capital" (It belongs to Engels and Plehanov) and it contradicts the well-known principle that "The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways, whereas it is a question of changing it." The world cannot be changed by merely contemplating it or by merely knowing it, however sophisticated the procedure. It necessarily requires the active participation and effort of man as a product and part not only of nature and/or society but also of them in their unity and interdependence achieved in practice.

As we know Engels described the fundamental problem of philosophy as that of the relationship between thought and existence (which is the prime factor if the world can be known). As for us, in the light of Marx' ideas (especially the "Theses on Feuerbach's Philosophy"), we think the relationship between interpretation and change (Thesis XI) is of quite outstanding importance.

The expression "the conception of dialectical and historical materialism" occurs at several points in the RCP documents, as for example in Nicolae Ceausescu's speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of 1-2 June 1982. We think it suggests not only the frequently asserted idea that dialectical materialism and historical materialism comprise a single theoretical body and jointly form the unified working-class conception of the world and life, but also the idea that both the dialectical and the historical materialist view together form the backbone of the original philosophy in Marx' writings in all its sections from ontology to the philosophy of culture.

The lack of any uniform structure in the philosophy textbooks (both the one for philosophy students and the one for high schools) creates certain difficulties in the treatment of some problems. For instance the section on "Sociohuman Determinism and Freedom" precedes Chapter VII on "The Phenomenon of Awareness" (We are not discussing the suitability of the term "phenomenon" in connection with awareness), which indicates a theoretical asynchronism to say the least. Our textbooks (especially the high-school one) view knowledge as a reflective

process intervening between an object (a fragment of reality) and a subject (the individual) and resulting in the acquisition of knowledge and truths. At this point it is said that a true idea "is objective and subjective at the same time" (p 109). It is objective (an "epistemological objectivity" -- p 109) because it properly reflects the known object. The truth depends on the subject (is subjective) because "The knowledgeable subject's psychological, logical and linguistic structures intervene actively in the process of its development and formation" (p 109). But matters become much more complicated when it is a question of knowledge of society and the individual. Then in the first place the knowledgeable subject is in one way or another an integral part of the object he wishes to know and, in the second place, he is conditioned by the social groups to which he clearly or latently belongs. Therefore in the sociohuman field elements intervene in the subject's development and formulation of the truth other than those peculiar to the individual's thinking, and they present the problem of a new objectivity and a new subjectivity of a social nature.

The lessons on social awareness view the intellectual manifestations in a rather sociological way as some reflections conditioned by social existence, and not from a philosophical or epistemological standpoint. We feel we should pay very serious attention to the fact that in the field of philosophy of the sociohuman sciences today the problem of objectivity (and that of axiological neutrality in connection with it) is a subject which is being quite rightly treated and discussed in depth and which the students and high-school pupils should know. In the course of it such highly important points have been raised and treated as knowledge through metaphor, the epistemological value of the ideal type (Max Weber), the role and limits of empathy (Oakeshott, Winch, Weber), the importance of the sociology of knowledge (Merton, Karl Mannheim), etc.

Treatment of the creativeness of Marxist philosophy requires special attention, in view of the growing importance of that question in the RCP documents. The textbook says quite rightly that it is "a philosophy receptive to the new advances of science and experience." (p 65) A few quotations are cited to illustrate that idea, nor can we deny the noteworthy effort in the 1982 textbook to update some philosophical questions. Nevertheless some comments are in order, including one about the way dogmatism is viewed.

The introduction to the treatment of the creativeness of Marxist philosophy says it is "incompatible with dogmatism in the sense of mechanical repetition of formulas or texts without regard for the new facts of knowledge and experience." (p 65) What happens if the repetition is not "mechanical"? Is dogmatism overcome if the repetition "of formulas or texts" takes account of "the new facts of knowledge and experience"? We believe there are other forms of dogmatism exposed in the RCP documents. One of them for instance is looking for answers to the difficult and far-reaching problems of the contemporary world in works written over a century ago. In this case the problem is not to preserve some old quotations by making them fit (somewhat!) the facts of today but to develop a new explanation and interpretation. It is a demand that does not call for mimicry and self-importance alone (or rather, it absolutely does not call for them at all!) but for unrestricted formation and development of ideas so that they will anticipate the reality as well as possible and suit and aid to the greatest extent the ideal of fulfilling the human personality.

The question of the number of names in the 1982 textbook on dialectical materialism also comes up in this connection. To be sure the idea that the occurrence of a name in a text or footnote is a correlative indicator of some aspects of the content has become a methodological aid in studies of the sociology of books and literature. Of course those occurrences do not exhaust the content and furthermore they alone cannot tell us the quality of the value judgment in connection with any given name. As in other fields, quantitative analysis has certain limitations, but that does not justify the claim that it is unscientific.

There are about 2,500 names in all (including repetitions). The numbers vary greatly with the chapters, which we consider indicative of the lack of any unity in the treatment of the chapters of the textbook and which goes beyond the stylistic area even if we allow for the differences in the subject matter of the various chapters. The very large number of occurrences of names, when not accompanied by serious discussion of the cited authors' ideas or any development of them in accordance with the changes in the world and the science and culture of today, could be symptomatic of such unfavorable situations as extensive use of an argument on the basis of references to works published more than a century ago, a tendency (perhaps latent and unperceived, something like a reflex) to adhere to the letter of Marxism at the expense of its spirit, underestimate of the contemporary philosophical output, especially that based on Marx' ideas, from G. Sorel and Labriola to A. Gramsci and G. Lukacs, or distortion of the language and thought of youths, who are left with outmoded concepts and problems because of their need to understand some quotations from a period.

The fundamental problem is that of mastery and development of the RCP's philosophy, which begins with recognition of Marx' and Engels' merits in developing materialism and dialectics but does not stop there. It also unequivocally asserts, in a responsible and revolutionary spirit, the urgent need of developing and applying Marxism and of constantly enriching it. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "We need creative thinking, and people who will judge, reflect and express their opinions on the new social processes."

This receptive attitude is also in keeping with some progressive trends in the general change of ideas in the contemporary world. Here is what a Peruvian thinker says about it in his study "Trois combats decisifs pour la philosophie latino-americaine": In matters of philosophy, to create means to produce knowledge, to reflect with accuracy and imagination, and to question the objective or subjective realities. This does not mean to be the imitator of an author (of 'the master of thought'), to be the learned defender of so-and-so or such and such a work (an old scholastic attitude of ecclesiastical origin), or to be the faithful (in the sense of uncreative -- our note) perpetuator of a system (dogmatic docility) by any means. All that may very well be 'philosophography,' but it is not philosophy. It is not a matter of chattering about philosophy but of making philosophy, which means that philosophizing is creative in nature and requires a contribution and an analytical and interpretative quality." (Edgar Montiel, "CULTURES," UNESCO, Vol III, No 2, 1982, p 142)

Another vital problem in connection with improved instruction of youth in philosophy is that of increasing its contribution to patriotic indoctrination as both a political-ideological and a cultural requirement for the activity of all workers in that field. It was stated as clearly as possible at the Expanded Plenum

of the RCP Central Committee of 1-2 June 1982 and at the Mangalia Working Conference in August 1983 that Romanian political indoctrination must emphasize development of revolutionary patriotism and love of country, the people and the cause of socialism.

We think the philosophy textbooks (as well as the lessons and seminars) can and should explain, in their treatment of certain subjects, the place and role of patriotism in the awareness of the present period and of socialist Romania. Some textbooks treat theoretical awareness solely from the viewpoint of reflecting social existence and consider it superior to the social psyche and common awareness. When we consider that love of country carries a great emotional charge, according to the indicated position it pertains to the social psyche. Does this mean that in promoting patriotism in ideological work we are complying with some haphazard reflections of existence, some superficial and ill-prepared elements, and underrating theoretical awareness? We think this structural typology of social awareness is limiting. It overlooks the fact that the elements of social awareness are not just reflections. Their integration in social evolution lends them a real content. It is a well-known principle that ideas become a material force when the masses acquire them. But they do not succeed in this unless they take the form of or are accompanied by convictions, attitudes, motivations and enthusiasm.

We do not think the philosophy textbooks pay due attention to the concept of the nation. The nation is more than a historical type of community, alongside the people and the family, or an effect of the dialectics of the historical process. Despite some skeptical predictions, this century has proved the permanence of the nation and its special role in the revolutionary social changes as well. It is not just the need of adapting certain social processes to the national characteristics. More than that, the nation is actually an important special agent of contemporary social determinism. That opinion, entirely confirmed by the facts, is abundantly supported in the RCP documents, and it also explains the need of a broad and intensive effort toward patriotic indoctrination.

And finally, the textbooks can be a direct means of strengthening patriotism by promoting the national values in the field of philosophical thought. The task assigned Romanian culture as a whole also applies to philosophy as an integral part of it. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "We must imbue people's awareness with a sense of responsibility for our ancestors' legacy and the resolve to carry on the torch of progress and civilization on Romanian soil under the new historical conditions.

In order to determine approximately how far the only philosophy textbook for students in the faculties of history and philosophy (1982) and the high-school textbook meet this patriotic requirement, we reviewed the names of personalities in the fields of philosophy, science and political management that occur in the text and footnotes. The frequency of names pertaining to Romanian national culture does not seem satisfactory to us. In the sole textbook for students, only 90 out of about 2,500 names belong to Romanian thinkers. Names of great renown in Romanian culture are lacking, like I. Heliade-Radulescu (important in appraising the role of philosophy and the relationships between opposites), A. D. Xenopol (useful in the theory of determinism), C. Dobrogeanu-Gherea (ideas about criticism of objective idealism), C. Radulescu-Motru (with ideas useful in the interpretation of awareness), etc.

Nor is the high-school textbook any better in this respect. It says V. Conta "represents the highest achievement of pre-Marxist materialistic thought in Romania." (p 45) Chronologically the statement is wrong because the Romanian philosopher was born in 1845, when "German Ideology" was written, and died a year before Marx did, and logically he should have been connected with the course of Romanian culture's development. It should have said that his chief works were published in French by fine publishing houses and were well received by thinkers of the time.

We consider it a most important duty to make use of all the factors and possibilities implied and asserted by philosophy instruction in higher education and in high schools in order to further its role in the patriotic indoctrination of youth. In this way we are complying with an ideological and political requirement formulated by the RCP while also carrying on a tradition bearing names written in letters of gold in Romanian culture like I. Heliade-Radulescu, V. Conta, M. Eminescu, S. Barmutiu, T. Maiorescu, L. Blaga and many others whose ideas must of course be evaluated in a historical context. In this way we can really develop the patriotic militance of the philosophy taught to the young generation.

To be sure our ideas, comments and suggestions may be debatable or in error. We are taking that risk in the knowledge of the importance of our subject. We have only to gain by comparing different opinions and drawing conclusions useful in solving the many problems facing Romanian philosophical thought today.

5186

CSO: 2700/16

LCY COMMISSION DISCUSSES INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION

LD241801 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1314 GMT 24 Oct 84

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 24 Oct (TANJUG)--The session of the LCY Central Committee Commission for International Cooperation of the LCY today discussed scientific research in the sphere of international relations and workers', and progressive parties and movements, with particular reference to the level of theoretical communications of the LCY. It was stressed that there is practically complete agreement on the need for Yugoslavia and the LCY to have more comprehensive and deeper scientific investigations of international relations and social processes in the world today, and, in this context, it was stressed that, without the relevant scientific research, it would be difficult to establish a long-term strategy for our foreign policy and current international actions. In this context, it was noted that Yugoslavia today has a relatively significant cadre potential at its disposal for the research of international relations, from a series of specialized scientific institutes, departments, and the like to the analytical services of sociopolitical organizations and state organs, individuals of the press, basic organizations of associated labor, economic institutions, and so on. In addition to a considerable number of scientific research projects and significant breakthroughs achieved in this sphere, there is also an extensive documentation and library basis in the institutions and bodies mentioned.

It was pointed out in the debate, however, that modern Yugoslav international relations science lags behind the needs of society. The absence of coordinated programming of research in the country as a whole, the lack of a more fundamental social class and ideological dimension in this research, the disproportion between long-term research of a fundamental theoretical nature and the so-called applied research--this being also the consequence of small financial investments--were mentioned among other things, as causes of that situation. The speakers in the debate advocated overcoming individual research work and stressed that, without team and interdisciplinary research, satisfactory and relatively speedily usable results could not be achieved in the majority of cases. It was also said that the drastic drop in the inflow of documentation and library material and the great lagging behind in creating a computer-based documentation-information system, the fall in and insufficient renewal of scientific cadres, the increasingly meager international cooperation by relevant scientific institutions, and so on have also influenced the lag in research work.

In the part of the debate on international theoretical communications of the LCY, the existence of discrepancies between foreign political communication and the political position of our country and the LCY, in particular in the movement of nonalignment and in the broad front of socialist forces in the world, and the intensity of theoretical international communications was pointed out. It was said that overcoming these discrepancies is the task of all Yugoslav science and that the LCY has a particular responsibility in this context. The assessment was also made that the activity of the round table in Cavtat has contributed to overcoming the situation partially. Evidently there are a need and significant possibilities for the LCY to act in the future toward overcoming discrepancies through more regular programming of theoretical communications with individual political parties and their scientific institutions as well as through other aspects of its international activity. The proposal was made to make greater use for this purpose of the international meetings of our universities and international links of relevant periodicals, publishers, and other institutions in the international affirmation of our theoretical views.

The participants in the session were informed of the results of this year's international round table on socialism and war" held in Cavtat.

CSO: 2800/59

RESOLUTION DRAFTED ON IMPROVING ROLE OF COMMUNES

[Editorial Report] The 2 October 1984 issue of BORBA (Belgrade) included an 8-page supplement containing a draft resolution on "achieving the constitutional concept of the opstina." The draft is divided into three parts:

- 1) Assessment of the present situation, noting the problems and weaknesses impeding opstinas in developing self-management and the democratic integration of society;
- 2) Directions of development, i.e., toward opening up these areas to wider interopstina economic relations, toward the encouraging of private enterprise, small business, better use of land, more exchange of labor and pooling of resources, greater efforts to raise the standard of living, to socialize to a greater degree security and defense work to include as many citizens as possible, to achieve more equality of peoples and nationalities, more democratic decisionmaking within the delegate system, and more personal responsibility, to improve the work of the social councils in opstinas, to improve legislation so that it responds to local needs and conditions, and to consider possible changes in the territorial organization of opstinas when the present organization "is shown to be disruptive in achieving the rights and duties of the opstina"; and
- 3) Measures and actions, which includes, among other things: examining the causes for disparity between the position of opstinas as established by the constitution and actual practice, promoting associated labor, small business, exchange of labor in social sectors, further developing local communities, democratizing sociopolitical relations, and increasing political control by opstina assemblies over executive and administrative organs.

The executive council of the SFRY Assembly will monitor the implementation of this resolution.

CSO: 2800/56

BRIEFS

BORDER CROSSING TO BULGARIA--Plans have been made and finances provided for the reconstruction of the road border checkpoint at Gradina near Dimitrovgrad on the Bulgarian border. It is planned to provide 24 lanes for the checking of vehicles. The checkpoint is used by 1.3 million vehicles and 5 million passengers a year. Work on improving the checkpoint is to begin this October and is to be completed before the high tourist season in 1985. [Summary] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Oct 84 p 5 AU]

MARKOVIC RECEIVES JAPANESE CP OFFICIAL--Dragoslav Markovic, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, yesterday received Soci Nihara [name as transliterated] member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan, who has arrived to take part in the Cavtat conference on "Socialism and Peace." [Summary] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6/7 Oct 84 p 7 AU]

MESSAGE TO NICARAGUA'S ORTEGA--Managua, 18 Oct (TANJUG)--Daniel Ortega, coordinator of the junta of the Government of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua, today received Ivan Kojic, Yugoslav ambassador in Managua. Kojic presented him with a message from Veselin Djuranovic, president of the SFRY Presidency. The message relates to Yugoslavia's view of the activity of the nonaligned movement and on bilateral cooperation between the two countries. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2225 GMT 18 Oct 84]

KOSOVO PRESIDENCY ON ALBANIA--Pristina, Oct 24 (TANJUG)--Presidency of the Yugoslav Autonomous Province of Kosovo today, Wednesday, noted that relations and cooperation with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania were strained as a result of incessant and intensive anti-Yugoslav policy of the Albanian leadership, especially following the counter-revolutionary events in Kosovo in 1981. This situation stirs up mounting interest among the big powers in this section of the Balkans, it was said among other things at the presidency session in Pristina. It was also assessed that Yugoslavia maintains good-neighborly relations with most neighboring countries, and the role of the Province of Kosovo was stressed as regards the implementation of such a policy. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1752 GMT 24 Oct 84]

END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

19 Nov 1984
